

MEDIÆVAL INDIA UNDER MUSLIM KINGS

VOLUME II

THE GHAZNAWIDS



MEDIÆVÆYINDIA

UNDER MUSLIM-KINGS

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THE GHAZNAWIDS

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"Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim
Rule in India," "The Mughal
Empire from Babar to
Awangzeb,"

etc

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S. MUHAMMAD SADIQ KHAN

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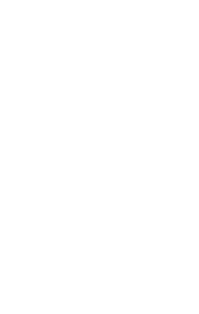
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HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY,
UNIVERSITY OF ALLAHABAD, A VETERAN
HISTORIAN WHOSE ACTIVE INTEREST IN
THE CAUSE OF INDIAN HISTORY HAS
LED TO THE RISE AND GROWTH OF THE
MODERN SCHOOL OF INDIAN HISTORY

AND THE

INDIAN HISTORY

CONGRESS.



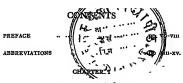
PREFACE

"Among the finest products of the literary activity of the Indian Muhammadans has been their historical literature" said the late Sir Thomas Arnold, and there is no doubt that history was a subject in which the Muselmine excelled and which they could legitimately claim as their own The products of their pen are indeed mariels of mediæval history. The evidence contained in the huge mass of historical literature that has come down to us. if diligently tapped and carefully sifted, would have enabled modern Muslim scholars of India to bring out a complete and comprehensive history of Indo-Muslim Rule the subject has been woefully neglected by them, so much so that there are very few books on the Muslim Period of Indian history written by modern Muslim writers. It is this neglect, more than anything else, that is responsible for the growing bulk of anti-Islamic literature and the ever-increasing circulation of wild notions about Islam and Muslim Rule in India. History books, written with ulterior motives, for personal gains, etc., and saturated through and through with extraneous influences, positively hostile to Islamic culture, are taught in our schools and colleges, and the inevitable result is that on the one hand the sons of Islam have begun to feel ashamed of the acts of their ancestors and on the other hand the gulf between the major communities of India-Hindus and Muslims-has been considerably widened. In short, misrepresentation of Islam and Muslim Rule in India has gone afar, and no organized literary effort has so far been launched to counteract the anti-Islamic propaganda Best brains being busy elsewhere, I took it upon myself to rewrite the history of Muslim Rule in India on what I believe to be correct lines The warm welcome which greeted my published works led me to undertake the onerous task notwithstanding the numerous difficulties that confronted me at every stage -a task which, I dare say, could be more aptly and advantageously undertaken and accomplished by a company of competent scholars under the patronage of such promine it patrons of literature as the Muslim Princes of Indian States

For the preparation of this volume I have consulted a large number of standard works, medieval as well as modern, and availed myself of the latest researches on the period covered by this volume. Among many other works, I have made use of Dr M Nazim's scholarly monograph on Valuated of Ghazua, embodying minute researches on the life and times of that much-maligned monarch, and of Professor S H Hodivila's Studies in Indo-Muslim History throwing a flood of light on a number of obscure names and passages in the original MS5, though I have not accepted their conclusions unreservedly My grateful acknowledgments are due to both these all those scholars whose monumental works I have drawn upon for information. In the presentation of facts I have exercised the utniest care and tried to make sure that nothing important is ometted. In describing the character of Muslim Kings and other individuals of eminence and assessing their achievements. I have been scrupulously careful giving them credit for the constructive work done by them. I have constantly kept before me the educative value of history and hence pointed out their mistakes and criticised their acts and administrations without any hesitation With all my solicitude, I must point out, there are books to which I have had no access and hence the solume in hand may not be as exhaustive as I intended it to be Should it be found to have filled the long-felt want to some appreciable extent, I shall deem myself amply rewarded Lest the work that I have undertaken should suffer if continued by me unaided and alone amidst a number of difficulties. I beg to invite the constructive enticism of conscientious scholars and shall feel grateful to them if they co-operate with me to enhance the usefulness of the work. It will be a real service to the cause of Indian history

Peshawar City, 10th May, 1940.

S M. JAFFAR



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ABBREVIATIONS

(These abbreviations are used only in respect of works which have been frequently cited in this volume Works rarely referred to are excluded from this list, for their names and those of their authors are given in full in the foot-notes at their proper places)

A A.	Al-Mukhtasar fi Akhbār-11-Bashar (Cairo edition), by Abul Fida
A. G. I.	Ancient Geography of India, by A Cun- ningham
A S. I.	Archæological Survey of India. (Annual Reports)
B, I. S.	Bibliotheca Indica Series of R A S B
B M.	British Museum
C. H. I.	Cambridge History of India, The, Volume III, edited by Sir W Haig.
C. G K.	Coins of Ghazni Kings, by E. Thomas
С. И.	Chahār Maqāla, by Nızāmī-al-'Arūzī al Samarqandī, edzted by Maulvī Ghulām Muhammad Abūharī
c o c.	Collection of Oriental Coins in B M.
E. B.	Encyclopædia Britannica, The
En of Is.	Encyclopædia of Islām, edited by T. Houtsma and others
E & D.	Elliot and Dowson's History of India as told by its own historians
E M. I.	Education in Muslim India, by S M Jaffar
G D A.M.I	Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediæval India, by N. L. Dey
G. I	Gates of India, The, by Sir J. Holdich.
G. M S	Gibb Meniorial Series
H. I.	History of India, The, by M. Elphinstone

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1 A

R. S.

I G. I.	Imperial Gazetteer of India, The		
1 K	Ibn Khaldun's Kıtāb-ul- Ibār translated into Urdu by Maulvī Hakîm Ahmad Hussain		
J. H	Jawāmī-nl-Hıkāzāt, by Awfi		
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of		

THE CHAPNANIDS

ture, by J Fergusson

Indian Antiquary, The.

History of Indian and Eastern Architec-

Great Britain and Ireland Journal of the (Rosal) Asiatic Societs of JASB Beneal

J. T. Jani-ut-Tuarikh, by Rashid-ud-Din al-Kāmil fit-Twarikh, by Allama Ibn-ul-K. T. Asir, edited by Tomberg

G Le Srange

Lands of the Eastern Calibhate, The, by LEC I. H.P. Literary History of Persia, The, by E G Browne

Mahmiid wa Firdausi, by Qazi 'Abdus-M. F. Samad

Mahmud of Ghazna, The Life and Times M. G of Sultan, by M Nazım

Mediæval India, The History of, by Ish-M. I warı Prasad The Mihran of Sind and its Tributaries.

Mshran by H. G Raverty in J. A. S. B

Muruj-uz-Zahāb, by Abul Hasan 'Alī bin M. Z. Hussam al-Mas'udi, translated into Eng-

lish by A Sprenger Newal Kishor Press (Lucknow) NKP.

OHIOxford History of India, The, by V. A.

Rausat-us-Safa, by Mir Khwand (N.K.P).

Topa

Smith. P P.M T. Politics in Pre-Minghal Times, by Ishwara S. A Sachau S. A. III. A

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Shāh Samarqandi.

Tabqat-1-Nasıri, by Mınhaj-us-Sıraj Juz-

Tazkarat-ush-Shu'ara, by Amir Daulat

Tarikh-t-Yamini (Kıtab-nl-Yamini), by

Muhammad bin Muhammad al-Utbī.

Ziyā-ul-Akhbār, by Abdul Hai bin AzZuhāk bin Mabmud al Gardīzī, edited by



CHAPTER 1

THE EARLY GHAZNAWIDS

FROM ALPTIGIN TO SUBUKTIGIN

The Arabs were the first Muslim conquerors of India; but they did not Introductory carry their conquests far beyond the Indus. Even in Sind their rule did not endure long and they left no lasting legacy behind except that a large part of the population of that place became Muslim in faith After a period of about two centuries that elapsed after the Arab occupation of Sind, India presented a scene of confusion A mere geographical expression or a conglomeration of small states, without a paramount power at the centre, showing no signs of national unity - she was rent up by dynastic lealousies and internecine warfare, so much so that even in the event of a common danger the people would not offer a united front. It was on this India that the avalanche of Turkish invasions from the North-West broke and eventually changed the course of her history. After the conquest of the country, the Muslim rulers of India set themselves sedulously to the task of establishing law and order and building up on that foundation an empire capable of protecting the people and opening up new avenues for the advance of their intellect. In the train of Muslim warriors and war-lords came Muslim

saints and scholars, poets and philosophers, who permeated the ranks of Indian society and tried to give India that cultural unity without which political solidarity could not be achieved

When the 'Abbāsid Khilāfat began to decline in power and prestige, the gover-Alptigin Alptigin nors of the far-flung provinces de-clared their independence. One of them, Ismāīl by name, Samanid by tribe and Tartar by origin, seized upon Khurāsān, Transoxiana and Afghānistan in 872 A C and fixed his capital at Bukhara. where he founded the Samanid Dynasty, which remained in the saddle for more than a century. His son and successor, Ahmad, had a Turkish slave, named Alptigin, whom he enrolled in his body-guard Manumitted by the next king, Nasr bin* Ahmad, and entrusted with the command of some troops by his successor, Nun bin Nasr, Alptigin rose from that rank to one of Handul-Hujjāb and acquired immense power and influence after his victory over Bakr bin Malik, the commander of the troops of Khurāsān, in 956 A. C. Under the patronage of his youthful master, 'Abdul-Malik, he rose to be the governor of Khurasan by dint of his ability and industry.
On the death of 'Abdul Malik when he was consulted about the appointment of his successor, he voted against Mansur, the brother of the deceased king. Mansur having been elected by other Amirs, the life of Alptigin was in danger, and

^{*} Bin. an Arabic word, means 'son of.'

had he not displayed extraordinary skill and courage in extricating himself from the web of intrigue which his enemies had woven around him, his fate would have been sealed. He tried to put his plans into practice but the prudence of the Amir prevented him from doing so. Deprived of the aid of Abt Manstr, who had made common cause with him after his expulsion from Khurāsān but was now restored to his previous post, and scenting treachery in his own camp, he decided to seek his fortune elsewhere Abandoning the proposed conquest of Bukhara, he left Khurasan with as many as 3,000 faithful followers and proceeded towards Balkh On the way he was attacked by an army sent by the Samanid King under the command of Ash'as bin Muhammad, but he defeated it in a battle near the Khulam Pass despite its numerical strength (12,000) From Balkh he marched towards Ghaznin and conquered it from Abu Bakr Lawik and set up an independent kingdom there in direct defiance of Mansur's authority This act of his added injury to insult and Mansur made up his mind to wreak terrible vengeance on him. He sent an army of 20,000 strong against him under the command of Abu la'far, but he inflicted a sharp defeat on it and compelled it to beat a disgraceful retreat. After two successive reverses, Mansur regarded prudence as vetter part of valour and wished to make the best of a bad bargain, He brought about a reconciliation between himself and his recalcitrant officer by confirming him in the government of the territories conquered by him The places which next felt the force of Alptigni's arms were Bust and a part of the kingdom of Kabul, which were attacked and occupied. After that he led some expeditions against the neighbouring chiefs, defeated the Afghans of the Khyber Pass and Peshawar valley and established his authority there But for the fact that he had a very brief reign, he would have considerably extended the area of his kingdom. He passed away in September, 963 A C after a successful reign of about eight months He was a just, wise and vigorous ruler

was succeeded by his son, Abū Alptigin Is-haq, but not before he had defeated Abt 'All son of Abt Bilkatigin and Piri. Bake Lawik, who had driven him out. On his death three distinguished generals of the late king occupied the throne of Ghaznīn one after the other The first was Bilkātigīn who is said to have been a very pious, brave and justiceloving man The second was Piri (Piritigin) who turned out to be 'a great villain' The reign of this ruler is remarkable for the first clash between Muslims and Hindus in the vicinity of Charnin It is narrated that the disaffected people of Ghaznīn, who worked for his overthrow and plotted for his deposition, requested Abit 'Alı Lawik to make common cause with the Shah of Kabul and put an end to the rule of

^{*} See p 5, note, and M. G . 24-27 and 175-76

Pirtugin the tyrant The allies marched against Ghaznīn from their respective places Subuktugin, the third general of Alptigin and a seasoned soldier, fell upon Abū 'Alī Lawīk with a body of 500 Turks and inflicted a sharp defeat and heavy losses on him The Hindus, who were advancing under the son of their Shah (king of Kābul) for seizing Ghaznīn, were successfully repulsed and routed by Pintigin it has been correctly remarked by Sir W Haig that it was "the first conflict in this region between Hindus and Muslims, the former being the aggressis" * Pintigin was deposed on account of his unpopularity and then the third general, viz, Subuktīgīn, was raised to the throne †

C H. I, m, 11

t Some instorans have only ignored while others have altogether denied the ensieties of Bilkitigin and Prittigin (Piri) which is proved by documentary as well as munisimatic evidence. The regnal dates of these two kings as well as of their predecessor and successor are different in different accounts. This has led to a heated controversy among modern scholars who have advanced various arguments in support of their respective theories Raverty wrote a fairly long note on the subject and died in 352 A. H., that his son Is-hift, who succeeded, Is-hift, ruled for eight years and died in 352 A. H., that his son Is-hift, who succeeded, Is-hift, ruled for eight years and died in power till 355 A. H., that Bilkitigin, who succeeded, Is-hift, ruled for eight years and died in 362 A. H., and that Piri (Pritigin) came next and occupied the throne till 367 A. H., when he was defeated and deposed by Subuktigin (Vitte Raverty's translation of T. N., 71.73) Recently Dr. Muhammad Närim took in the eighting stee evidence

Subuktigin was originally a descendant of Yazd-Jard, the last Sāsāmid king of Persia, who had been defeated and whose kingdom had been included in the commonwealth of Islām during the khitāfat of 'Usmān After the conquest of Persia the members of its royal family do not seem to have seen better days for at least five generations, for we are informed that Subuktīgin, who was suth in descent from Yazd-Jard, was taken from Turkistān to Bukhārā and sold to Alpngīn by a merchant named Nasr, the Hāji.* Alīthat we know about his early life is that he was

hitherto available, tried to close the controversy for good, this conclusions are that Alptigin conquered Ghazzin about Zul-hu, 351 A H after a siege of about four months and died after a reing of eight months (not years, as is erronsously said by many, including Ravert) in the month of Shab'an, 352 A H, that his son, Abb 18-haq, succeeded him, but not before he had suffered a defeat and exile at the hands of Abu 'Ah (son of Abu Bakr) Lawik and recovered his kingdom from him after inflicting a defeat on him on the 27th of Shawwall, 354 A. H., that 18-haq died on the 25th of Zil-qa'd, 355 A. H., that Bilkstign ruled for eight or nine years (355-364 A. H.), and that Piri (Piritigin) remained in power for two or three years (364-366 A M.) See all Q., 24-27 and 175-176.

"See T P Vol 1, p 18, T.N (Cal ed 1864), p 6; and L1, x11, 256 ff (translator's note) It may be noted here that Subuktagin was not a born silve. When the fortunes of his family had faller to their lowest ebb, he was sold by one and purchased by another Many a man of noble burth, including mighty monarchs, has often suffered this fate Slavery, moreover, is not an inherent weakness It is something imposed Finalty, a slave is as good a man in laffam as any other follower of it.

born about the year 331 A H. (= 942.43 A C), that his father Jūq, was the chieftain of a minor principality in Turkistan and was renowned for his unusual physical strength, that at the age of twelve his father's principality was raided by a hostile lashkar and he was carried away by the raiders, and that he was kept as a prisoner for four years and then sold to Nasr the Haji, who took him to Bukhara and sold him to Alptigin. Impressed by the abilities of the promising youth, AlptigIn treated him with great kindness and entrusted him with responsible posts; and it must be said to the credit of the latter that he fully justified the confidence reposed in him by the former, His devotion to the descendants of his master cannot be called in question He served them with unmixed loyalty and enjoyed their confidence and favours till he was elevated to kingship by the people in accordance, it is said, with the will of Alptigin and married to his daughter.* Not content with what he had, he united the various clans of Afghānistān into a nation and conquered Lamghān and Sistan with their help and extended his sway right up to Khurāsān, and turned his kingdom

^{*} Authorites are not in agreement on this point In view of the fact that Subuktign was the fourth in the line of succession (the first 3 being 1s-haq, Bilketigin and Prittigin) it may be said that the will was not made at all, or it at all it was made, it must have remained a dead letter, for it was not acted upon for a long time for some reason or the other.

into a well-organized and prosperous state

When Subuktigin ascended the throne, Bust was occupied by Tughan One of Conquest Samanid adventurers exof Bust. pelled him from his stronghold and occupied it Tughan requested Subuktigin for help and agreed to acknowledge the Amir as his overlord after the recovery of Bust. Subuktigin took up his cause and, after inflicting a defeat on his rival, restored him to his lost possession. After restoration. however, he became lukewarm in owning allegiance. His delay in remitting the promised tribute to Ghaznin and the Amir's insistence on it led to a scuffle, in which the latter sustained an injury at the hands of his vassal. But for the timely intervention of his servants, Tughan's career would have been cut short. He took to flight and sought shelter in Kurmai, from where he never returned Bust was occupied without encountering opposition and the Samanid Chief's Dabir (secretary) Abul Fateh, who had been living in retirement, was brought before the Amir who treated him with great kindness in recognition of his wide learning and proficiency in arts The learned recluse, it is said, was offered an important post, which he occupied till the death of the Amir, but later he fell out with Mahmid and went away to Turkistan.*

^{*} T F, 1, 19, and T H, 1, 256

Qusdar, which was not far away from Great Chaznin, was held by an arrogant chief, who is said to have boasted of the invincibility of his stronghold. An ambitious man like Subuktigin would not naturally tolerate the existence of another ambitious man who happened to be his neighbour. The Amir led his forces against the chief and caught him in his very den. When the chief offered submission and agreed to pay a fixed amount of tribute every year; and to insert the name of the Amir in the Khutba, he was confirmed him in his government of Qusdar.

After the conquest of Qusdār, Subuktgrn's attention was attracted by the Raja of the Punjab, named Jaipal, who was advancing against him at the head of a hugarmy. But before dealing with the Hindu invasion of Ghaznīn it will be proper to trace the course of events which were responsible for the first great clash of arms between the Hindus of India and the Musalmans of Afghānistan Economic forces such as increase in population, sto, necessitated the outward expansion of the

^{*} In the original Persian writings this word is written as jls...\$\frac{1}{2} - \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} - \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} - \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} - \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} - \frac{1}{2

Afghāns who migrated to the border-land between India and Afghānistan and colonized in the territory which comprised Kurmaj, Peshāwar and Shnūrān This colonization was viewed with grave concern and resented by Jaipal, the Hindā Rāja of Wahind, who scented danger from the Afghāns. Some skirmishes followed and pitched battles were also fought, but nothing decisive was accomplished by either party.*

Sometime later the Raia incurred the displeasure of the Hindu Ga-Indo-Afghān khars who joined hands with their neighbours, the Afghans, Alliance and formed alliances with them against him Cowed down by this combination, Jaipal made peace with the Afghans and also ceded a number of towns from Lamehan to Afghanistan to them for colonization on the condition that they would protect India against all Muslim invasions from beyond. For sometime this policy proved quite effective and the Afghans defended the Indian frontier well and even checked the Samanid advances for Indian booty. Thus India enjoyed immunity from external

^{*} It is stated that when the belligerents withdrew to their respective places, the people of Kabu and Khali replied, when inquired about the fate of Musalmans and the state of affairs in Kohistin, that Kohistin should henceforth be called Afghanistin (i. e. habitat of afthian or noise) because afthian (noise) ragned supreme there. Thus, according to Ferishta, the people are called Afghans and the place inhabited by them Afghanistin, [T, F, 1, 17].

invasions as a result of the Indo-Afghan alliance. But conditions changed abruptly when the Ghaznawids sprang into power and prominence.

Alptigin led a number of expeditions against the Afghans and harassed them Recognition so much that they could not of Afghan but seek the aid of the Indian independence. Rāja against him. The Rāja responded to their request with scant courtesy and treated the frontier problem with indifference After consulting the Raja of Bhatiya,* he disposed it of by handing over to the Afghans the territory inhabited by them so that they might establish their own kingdom which might serve as a buffer state Thus for the first time did the Afghans have an independent government in their own country. The indifference and aloofness of the Raja, who did not want to meddle in frontier affairs, coupled with the political pressure that was brought to bear upon the Afghans by the Ghaznawid ruler, Shaikh Hamid, the Afghan ruler of the Frontier, made peace with Subuktigin and agreed to pursue a policy of neutrality in so far as India was

^{*} Various names such as Bhatner, Bhatmas, Bhāwalpur Uchch and Bhera have been advanced as possible dentifications of Bhātnya; but none except Bhera can stand the crucial test of strategical considerations' Frofessor Hodiwals has put forward some sound reasons in favour of Bhera (See S I.-M H, 138-39) Dr M Nāzim prefers Bhatmad. For his discussion on the subject, vide M G, 197 ff I am inclined in favour of Bhera

concerned Political expediency, coupled, perhaps, with religious considerations, prompted Subukugin to agree to the proposal and enter into an alliance with the Afghāns. He scored a brillant point in that the Afghāns. He scored which impeded his advance into India and acted as a stimbling block in his way, was removed with one stroke of political sagacity. And, for the Afghāns, it was a question of life and death. Their political existence was in danger. It was ensured as soon as they made peace with the Ghaznawids and formed an alliance with themselves about the safety of India. Subukugin gave them many concessions and won their sympathies and thus cleared his own path to India.

The rise of a powerful kingdom under a Muslim monarch in the vicinity of Glazzin and of the Indus must have most of the Indus must have most have dear peace of mind and created fears and misgivings in his heart, especially when his

and misgivings in his heart, especially when his dominions lay contiguous to those of his rival, Subuktigin. The recognition of that kingdom spelt the negation of his political suzerainty. He had but two alternatives before him: either to arrest the rising tide of the Ghaznawid power or to forego his claims to political supremacy and risk the political existence of his own kingdom. He deeded to follow the first course;

^{*} T F. 1, 17-18.

and despite the opposition and protestations of the 'whole council, both Brahmans and Kshatris,' he made preparations and mobilized his forces against his ambitious neighbour. The first great clash between the armies of Islam and those of Hindusm took place at Lamghan in the Khyber Pass* It was accompanied by a violent storm, rain and thunder, which the superstitious ascribed to supernatural causes, to calculated to cause their destruction, so much

^{*}Some modern scholars, (e.g. Dr. I Tope,) aver, without assigning any reasons, that the fight did not take place. They give credit to the Rāja for his 'warlike mentality' and say that he was guite prepared for the fight, but changed his mind at Ghaznin. How he could go sa far as Ghaznin without fighting a battle and then suddenly change his mind and enter into a humilating treaty is not explained. (See Politics in Pre-Minghall Times, by Dr. leinwara Topa, pp. 28-29). It may also be noted here that in this clash also the Hindus were the aggressors

[†] The phenomenon of stoom, ram and thunder, referred to above, is said to have been the direct result of Mahmid's throwing a fifthy thing in a clean foundam of water, haunted by spirits. This tale of wonder, is preserved in the Tarlithe-Yamini, Tarlithe-Farishid and other historical works, as a relic of the past To be brief, it is said that there was a clean fountain of water which became tumultuous and gave rise to black clouds, thunders and snow-storms whenever a fifthy matter was thrown in it, that Mahmid, son of Subuktigin, who was aware of its qualities, caused it to be polluted, and that the results produced caused consternation in the Hindu army who believed that their gods had become angry-with them and therefore sent snow-storms etc. for punishing them. This 'tale of wonder' would at once remind the

so that Jaipal himself stood aghast at the horrible sight and saw safety in submission. He sued for peace and his request was accepted According to the peace-treaty that was concluded, the Raja agreed to the following conditions: (1) to pay an indemnity of one million drhams, (2) to deliver fifty elephants, (3) to cede some cities and fortresses situated in his kingdom, (4) to accept the appointment of some officers in India by Subuktigin, and (5) to keep some of

reader of a number of similar stories, such as the 'miraculous pitcher', 'the lake of wonder' and 'the well of wonder' It records the survival of an ancient superstition, according to which Nagas t c, demons or draggons—half-human and half-brute—residing in such natural reservoirs as springs, fountains, wells and lakes, got offended when anything dirty was thrown in them and poured forth their wrath in the form of such phenomena as tempests, whirlwinds, clouds and snowstorms It is told by the Buddhist travellers such as Fa Hian and Hiuen Tsiang, and the contemporary Muslim traveller, Albertini, had also heard of a well in the hills of Farghan, which was haunted by spirits endowed with supernatural powers. The phenomenon that caused constenation in Japai's army must have been similar to that which destroyed the Anglo-Indian army in 1842 A. C -a snow-storm, and the story that the gods of the Hindus had got approved with them seems to have been set up with a view to frighten the Hindu soldiers who had a firm faith not only in supernatural but also in unnatural and even anti-natural causes, and who felt sure that their gods were really angry with them For references to the tale of wonder vide Tärikk-1-Yamini m E & D, n, 20, T F 1, 19, Dr Sachau's translation of the Asār-ul-Bāqi3a, 235; and S I-M H 134 - 136

his relatives with SubuktigIn as hostages until the indemnity was paid

Historians are unanimous on the point that when Jaipal returned safely to His breach of faith and secure from external danger, he punishment. thought that the treaty could be set at naught at his own sweet will. Behaving in a Kautilyan fashion and regarding the terms of the treaty as a scrap of paper to be torn to pieces, he not only refused to abide by them but also threw into prison the officers whom SubuktigIn had left to see that the Raja lived up to his words. This brazen breach of faith drew down upon him the wrath of the Ghaznawid overlord who marched against him in order to punish him for his perfidy.* Jaipal was not idling away his time. He had, in the meantime, prepared himself for the inevitable and enlisted the support of the Rajas of Delhi, Ajmer, Kalinjar and Kanauj † He set out to receive the Afghan army with his hordes of Hindus. In the engagement that was

^{*} At first Subuktigin did not believe the news of Jaipal's bettayal and, therefore, paid no heed to it. According to 'Utbl., it was only when he was convinced by 'the repeated accounts' that he had been defrauded and bamboozled that he marched against Jaipal to punish him for his 'wickedness' and 'infidelity.'

[†] T F, 1, 20. It is, however, contended that Ajmer was not yet founded. It is said to have been founded in 1100 A C. (Indian Antiquary, xxxvi, I62)

fought on the bank of the Indus, the allies suffered a crushing defeat After victory, Subuktigin levied heavy contributions on the neighbouring districts, received assurances from the Raja that he would remit tribute regularly to Ghazofin and amassed immense booty, including 200 war elephants. Leaving Peshawar under the command of a trusted officer and putting 10,000 horse at his disposal, the victor marched back to his native Ghazofin.

Politically considered, the result of this invasion was that a mighty Hindü function of confederacy was defeated and Subuktight's the superiority of the Musalmans over the Hindüs was established; and though India was not yet conquered, the right route to attack her was discovered, for Subuktigh was the first Muslim king who invaded India from the North-West Frontier. It may also be noted here that in the first clash between Subuktight and Jaipal, the latter was the aggressor and the second was the direct outcome of his breach of faith.

When Subuktigin ascended the throne of Ghaznin the Samanid power the Samanid power of Bukhara was in the order of Bukhara was in the throes of disintegration. Amir Nüh, the Samanid King, was hemmed in by nsurgents on all sides and the governors of

^{*} T F, 1, 27; and C. H. I, m, 12.

the outlying provinces were in constant rebel-lion. All this afforded a most favourable opportunity to an ambitious leader for the realization of his ambitions, and the Amīr of Ghaznīn could have successfully fished in the troubled waters. Far from betraving his overlord, he continued to acknowledge him as such and gave ample proof of his loyalty and devotion by lending him a helping hand against his enemies When Abū 'Alī Sīmjūrī* and Fa'iq, two seasoned intriguers, joined hands against their overlord, Amīr Nūh, the latter called in the aid of Subuktigin, who was ever ready to help him in his hours of need In response to his request, Subuktigin set out with his forces and reached Herat, where the insurgents had mustered in strength He opened negotiations with Abu 'Ali and Fa'iq and proved himself a good peace-maker by prevailing upon them to make peace with their overlord and to pay him an indemnity of 15,000,000 darhams. Not long afterwaids, however, Abu 'Ali violated the terms of the peace-treaty and Subuktigin took the field against him in person, firmly determined to punish him for his perfidy. The rebel put up a vigorous opposition, but a timely attack, delivered by Mahmud, decided the day against him. When defeated and driven to despair, called in the aid of Subuktigin, who was ever

^{*} Sir VI Haig calls him Abu 'Ali Sunjur, which is without authority and hence incorrect (C. H I., III, 12)

he fled to Raiy and found shelter with Fakhrud-Daulah. The victorious father and son. vis, Subuktigin and Mahmud, triumphantly entered Herat, where they were accorded a right royal reception by the grateful Amir of Bukhārā Amīr Nūh rewarded the services of SubuktigIn by conferring upon him the government of Balkh and the title of Nasyud-Din-roga-Daulah * and those of his son. Mahmud, by bestowing upon him the command of the troops of Khurasan and the title of Sast-ud-Daulah When Mahmud entered Nishāpur he was taken by surprise by the forces of Abu 'Ali Simpūri and Fā'iq and the town was occupied by them. After this reverse Mahmud recreated to Herat and reorganized his forces there When Subuktigin learnt of this disaster, he marched post-haste and attacked Abū 'Alī Sīmjūrī Again a timely attack delivered by Mahmūd decided the day in his favour Fed up with fruitless struggles and humilated by repeated reverses, both Abū 'Alī and his friend, Fā'iq, made pourparlers for peace to Amīr Nūh When their ambassadors reached Bukhārā, the Amīr threw into prison the one sent by Fa'ıq and received with marked respect the one sent by Abū 'Alī. This was done with a view to breaking down their combination When Fa'ig learnt of the fate of his ambassador, he

^{&#}x27; Subuktuin already enjoyed the title of Mu'in-ud-Daulah (Vide Sachao The Chronology of Ancient Nations, p 130)

fled to Ilak Khān and sought his interference, while Abū 'Alī was taken prisoner on his arrival at Bukhārā and made over to Subuktigin for safe custody. Meanwhile Fa'iq had prevailed upon Ilak Khān to launch an attack on Bukhārā. When Nuh heard of the impending invasion of Bukhārā by Ilak Khān, he again invoked the assistance of Subuktigin Ever willing to furnish assistance of Subuktigin Ever willing to furnish proof of his fidelity, the Amir of Ghaznin set out at the head of his army to the help of his everlord. On reaching Bukhara, however, he found that Amir Nüh had changed his mind and was not prepared to meet the invader under the advice of his minister, 'Abdullah bis. Muhammad bis Uzair. But for this, he would have plunged himself into a decisive war against Ilak Khan "He too, however, now made peace with Ilak Khan and ceded all the Samanid territory to the east of Qatwan to him. At the same time he also sent his son, Mahmid to Bukhara at the head of 20,000 Mahmud, to Bukhara at the head of 20,000 horse to bring about the dismissal of the cowardly Vasir, 'Abdullah. Frightened out of his wits, Amir Nüh dismissed 'Abdullah and appointed another Vasir nominated by Subuktigin * A little later when Subuktigin and Mahmud were both away from Khurāsān, 'Abul Qāsım, brother of Abū 'Alī Sīmjūrī, availed himself of their absence and occupied Nishapur without encountering much opposition. His success was, however, short-lived, for he had to eva-

^{*} T Y.98-100

cuate the place on the arrival of Mahmud and his uncle, Bughrajuq,* from Herat.

Amidst these transactions, at the height of his power, Subuktigin, who was Character & exhausted by the strain and stress estimate_of of ceaseless war and conquest. Subultigin sank and quietly passed away in 997 A C., bequeathing a fairly large and wellorganized kingdom to his son, Mahmud was a brave, righteous and upright ruler, who combined in his person the qualities of a soldier and a statesman. He ruled his kingdom with and a statesman free ruled his kingdom with great prudence, justice and moderation for full twenty years. He has gone down in history as an Amir-e-'Adul or Just Ruler, who was adored and obeyed by his soldiers, whose sufferings he shared, and loved and respected by his subjects, whose interests he always tried to promote. His loyalty and devotion to the Samanid King, whom he acknowledged as his suzerain, stand in dramatic contrast to the treason and treachery of the Bulharan nobility in relation to their overlord and reflects great credit on his character Towards the close of his reign he had grown so strong that foreign potentates eagerly sought his friendship He was a really great lover of learning and an equally great patron of the learned. His advice to his son Mahmud, who rose to be one of the greatest patrons of literature.

^{*} Vtde T Y., 75-107, T M., 235, Z A p, 58; T N, 75, and M G, 30-32

is particularly interesting. He told him to conquer the hearts of the literary luminaries of his kingdom by looking after their welfare and carrying out their wishes, pointing out that his generosity in this sphere would immortalize his name.* The treatment meted out by him to Abul Fateh, the Dabir of the Samanid Chief, after the expulsion of Tughan from Bust is a glowing tribute to his patronage of learning † Later Muslim historians have tried to represent him as a champion of Islam whose principal occupation was to wage wars with the infidels' of India and to propagate his religion with fire and sword, despite the fact that he never and sword, despite the ract that he heves crossed the Indus and led only two expedi-tions against the Hindus. His hands were too full of affairs at home to allow him time to draw, out his sword and propagate Islam in India at its point. It was only on two occasions that he had to fight the Hindus of India, and that too for political-reasons. The first of his Indian expeditions was undertaken when he was attacked by was undertaken when he was attacked by Raja Jaipal of Lahore and the second when the Raja proved perfidious and violated the terms of the treaty solemnly entered into after his defeat in the first expedition. Sir W Haig is perfectly right in saying that these expeditions were undertaken rather as measures of reprisal and for the purpose of securing

^{*} T F . 1 31.

[†] See supra. p 8.

his dominions than with any intention of propagating the faith.** There is absolutely no doubt that as a good Muslim he was profoundly interested in the cause of Islam, but it will be too much to credit him with what he never did or attempted to do He did not propagate Islam in India at the point of the sword In fact he did not propagate it there even by peaceful means. Apart from the fact that his sway was confined only to a fringe of the Indian Continent, the rest of which remained untouched by him, his political pre-occupations left him but little leisure to do so. This is the verdict of history

From the preceding account it is evident that about the end of the 10th century the Ghaznawid Empire was in the making The Ghaznawids, with the solitary exception of Alphgin, the founder of the dynasty, were gradually exerting themselves and asserting their authority in the name of the Samanid king. Their motives were political and economic and not religious—creation of an independent empire of their own and its maintenance and not the propagation of Islam and its principles and practices in India. They had but one end in view, *s*, political aggrandizement, and they laboured to achieve it by all legitimate gineans. The Samanid name and authority served their purpose well and they

^{*} C H I. m. 12

exploited these words fully to their best advantage. Under this political cloak the Ghaznawid power expanded unseen and without Ghazhawid power expanded dissert and without executing jealousies or awakening rivalry. The main object of the growing Ghaznawid State was to strengthen itself and to cement its foundations and to develop itself into a powerful empire It was for purely political considerations that the Ghaznawid rulers acknowledged the suzerainty of the Samanid King, otherwise they had little regard for him or for his power and prestige. This is borne out by the fact that they freed themselves from the nominal political tutelage of the Samanid Sovereignty the moment they felt themselves strong enough to curb the opposition of their enemies. The foundations of the great Ghaznawid Empire were laid by SubuktigIn and the splendid superstructure was raised by his more famous son and successor, Mahmud, under whom it became a living force, a real symbol of power and a sure sign of authority

CHAPTER II

SULTAN MAHMUD THE GREAT - I

HIS CONQUESTS IN CENTRAL ASIA

Mahmūd is really the first remarkable figure in the history of Muslim Introductory India to claim our serious attention He was the real maker of the Ghaznawid State and the first Muslim conqueror of a considerable part of India Under him the semi-independent State of Ghaznin rose to a full-fledged and fully developed Ghaznawid Empire He picked up the policy of his father, pursued it with prudence and carried it to its logical conclusion. Though it is only in a limited sense that he can be regarded as a ruler of India, yet the spade-work he did and the ground he prepared for the establishment of a Muslim empire in India cannot be ignored, and it is mainly in this capacity that he deserves a prominent place in Indian history.

Abul Qasım Mahmüd was the eldest son of Subuktıgın from his wife who was the daughter of an Amir of Zabulistan * In spite of the efforts of his historians, mediezwal as well as modern.

^{*} S N, 108, T F, 1, 23, and T G, 395 It is for this reason that Mahmud was also known as 'Mahmud-1-Zihuli

the early life of this mighty monarch of his age still remains wrapped in obscurity A few stray facts bearing on the subject are known and they will not be out of place here. He was born on the night between the 1st and 2nd of November, 971 A. C.* He received his early education on orthodox lines under the tuition of a learned man Well-grounded in various branches of Islamic literature, he knew the Holy Quran by heart and was fully conversant with Muslim law and Tradi-His father was particularly keen about the education of his children He himself had instructed Mahmud in the science of statecraft and crystallized its principles, as propounded by himself, into a Pand-Nāmah. Mahmūd, moreover, seems to have undergone a regular course of apprenticeship in the art of administration. We find him acting as a deputy of his father during his absence from Ghaznīn. He was hardly seven years of age at that time. Later he was entrusted with the government of the province of Zamin-Dawar. He was given a

⁴ Historians have spun some strange stories round the birth of Mahmid For instance, at one place it is recorded that his birth synchronized with the falling down of an idol-temple, at Washand, and that shortly before his birth Subuktigns saw in a dream a tree issuing out of the chafing-dish in his room and spreading out rapidly so as to overshadow the whole world, thus presaging the future iconoclast and conqueror' (II G, 34, note 3, T F, 1, 23, and T N, 76). Such stories are not peculiar to the case of Mahmid Similar stories are told about the birth of Alexander the Great (See Plutarch's Lives, ii. p. 104)

regular training in the military arts and sciences of his day. His skill and proficiency as a swordsman, lance-fighter and marksman were bar excellence As a constant companion of his father in his military expeditions, he had picked up experience, which proved so useful in his career of conquest We have had occasions to meet him as a lieutenant of his father on a number of battle-fields During his boyhood he gave a good account of his military genius by successfully conducting a punitive expedition against Ghur He acquitted himself creditably in a battle that took place between his father and Jaipal near Lamghan in 986-87 A C. As a result, perhaps, of some court intrigue, he fell out with his father and was thrown into prison This estrangement was, however, short-lived The misunderstanding was soon removed and Mahmud was restored to filial favours Mahmud's services to the Samand King against Abū 'Alī Sīmjūrī and Fa'iq, in conjunction with his father, have been dealt with and need not be dilated upon here * He was at Nishapur and in the 26th year of his life when he heard the sad news of the death of his father. +

In accordance with the will made by Struggle for Subuktigin a few days before his death, the nobles of Balkh caused his younger son, Ismail to the throne and proclaimed him as their

^{*} See supra, pp 16 ff. † See M G . 34 ff

king With a view to strengthening his position, the new king did homage to his Samanid overlord and to win the good-will of the army he lavishly distributed wealth among his soldiers There was, however, a party of the people who believed that fitness to rule was the first and foremost qualification for succession to the throne That party espoused the cause of Mahmud, who was the elder and decidedly the abler and more energetic of the two brothers Mahmūd, who was no less ambitious than Ismāīl, refused to acquiesce in the settlement. He wrote a letter of condolence to his brother Ismail, assured him of his fraternal love and asked him to retain Balkh and cede Ghaznīn to him in recognition of his superior rights .. He also pointed out in that letter that he would not have disputed the will of his father if Ismail had possessed the requisite qualifications for kingship The demand was not met and the rival claimants referred the matter to the arbitrament of the sword At this juncture Abul Haris Farighuni, father-inlaw of Mahmud, tried to patch up the differences between the two brothers, but he was considered as an interested mediator and thus his efforts to bring about a compromise ended in smoke After that the two brothers mobilized their forces and advanced on Ghaznin from their respective places—Mahmūd from Nishāpur and Ismāil from Balkh Before they met on the battle-field, Mahmud won over his brother, Abul Muzaffar Nasr, the governor of Bust, and his

uncle Bughrājuq, the governor of Herāt, and made a final attempt at compromise, but that too suffered the same fate. His father-in-law had already thrown the weight of his power and influence on his side and now there was nothing to check him from asserting his claims by force of arms The two armies, almost equal in numerical strength, met on the plain of Ghaznīn and a well-balanced battle was fought in March, 998 A. C. Ismail, who was more of a scholar than a sold, er, held out heroically for the whole day, but eventually bowed before the calm and cool courage and superior generalship of his brother Towards the close of the day Ismail's forces took to flight and he himself sought shelter in a fort; but feeling sure that he could not sustain a long siege, he threw himself at the mercy of his brother, who had promised to treat him with kindness After winning a decisive victory. Mahmud placed Ismail in nominal cofinement and provided him with every comfort and convenience. About the end of 999 A C. Ismail abused the indulgence shown to him by his brother and hatched up a plot against him. Before the nefarious plan was put into practice. Mahmud got an inkling of the plot*

^{*} How Mahmud came to know about the plot is thus stated by 'Utbi —

One day the Sultan went out hunting in company with Ismail and Nushtigin On the way he saw the latter putting his hand on the hilt of his sword and looking towards the former for some pre-arranged surnal Mahmud

and immediately ordered the execution of Nushingin Kāj, who was the principal agent After that Ismāil was transferred to the custody of Abul Hāris at Jūzjānān, where he passed the rest of his life in peace *

After restoring law and order in Ghaznin Mahmud marched to Balkh and Relations with paid his respects to Amir Abul the Samanuds Haris Mansur, who had succeeded his father, Amir Nuh The Amir congratulated him on his success against his brother and confirmed him in his government of Balkh, Herat, Bust, and Tirmiz. As regards Khurāsān, the Amīr said that he had already granted it to Begtuzun, an officer who wielded enormous influence at Bukhāra,† Mahmūd made another constitutional attempt to get back Khurasan. He sent Abul Hasan Harmuli to Bukhara to plead his case, but the Amir declined to do what he desired. Failing to achieve his object by peaceful means, he re-sorted to force. He advanced against Nishapur. At his approach Begtüzün deserted the place

detected the move, and Ismail, feeling that the Sultan had seen Nushtigin's action, showed himself unconcerned (T Y. 132)

^{*} T. G, 393, T Y, 110, 114-16, 118, 128-32, T F, 1, 22; and M G, 38-41

[†] For the events leading to the appointment of Begthzun to the command of the troops of Khurasan, see M G', p 42, note 2

and applied for reinforcements. The Amīr hastened to the scene for helping him and halted at Sarakhs Mahmud, who had occupied Nishapur in the meantime, left it without fighting a hattle and retreated to Mary-Rud Nishapur was re-occumed by Begtüzün, who next marched to Sarakns to join the Amir Suspecting the Amir of secretly favouring Mahmüd, Fa'iq and Begtüzün formed a plot against him, took him prisoner on the pretext of a meeting in connection with an alleged problem of importance and then enthroped Abul Fawaris Abdul Malık, a younger brother of Amir Abul Hāris Mahmad now took up the cause of the ex-Amra and proceeded to Sarakhs to punish Fa'iq and Begtazan At his approach, both the traitors fled to Mary Mahmud pursued them thither and actually encamped in front of that place Before, however, the fight began the parties came to an understanding, whereby Begtüzün was allowed to retain the command of the troops of Khurasan as before and Mahmud was confirmed in his possession of Herat, Balkh, etc. Thus ended the campaign without achieving the object for which it was launched. † The peace concluded was short-lived. It was broken as soon as the followers of the A mir, instigated by Dara bin Qabūs who was opposed to the terms

^{*&#}x27;Utbi accounts for this unconditional retreat of Mahmud by saying that he disdained to deal the final blow to the Samanids (T. Y. 124)

[;] See Z A, 60, and T M, 805 It is stated that

of the treaty, attacked the rear of Mahmud's, forces under the command of Nasr. This was enough to serve as a casus bell; for Mahmud Marshalling his forces in battle array and distributing the commands of the main divisions of his army to trusted officers, he attacked the combined forces of Amir Abdul Malik, Begtüzün, Fä'iq and Abul Qasım Simjüri, and defeated them in a battle near Marv on the 16th of May, 999 A C Abdul Malik fled to Bukhara, Abul Qasım to Kohıstan and Begtüzün to Nıshapur. Driyen out of Nıshapur, Begtüzün fled to Jurjan and when he was pursued thither also he crossed over to Bukhara. Abul Qasım, who had established himself in Kohistan was attacked by an officer of Mahmud, defeated and dislodged from the position he had occupied. Mahmud was now the master of the whole of Khurasan Entrusting the command of the troops of that province to his brother Nasr, he proceeded apace to Balkh to see the state of affairs at Bukhara About this time he informed Al-Qadir Billah, the Khalifa of Baghdad, of his victory over Abdul Malik and received from him a diploma of investiture and the titles of Amin-ul-Millah and Yamin-ud-Daulah. Abdul Malik was preparing himself for a final fight with Mahmud when the death of his skilled and seasoned

Mahmud was so pleased with this result that he distributed 2,000 dingrs as alms among the poor. Why he felt delighted at this unsatisfactory peace-treaty is not explained

general, Fa'iq, brought his schemes to an abrupt close. At the end of October, 999 A.C. Ilak Khan conquered Bukhara, captured the Amir together with his kith and kin and put an end to the Samanid Dynasty Abn Ibrahim Ismāīl al-Muntasır, son of Amīr Nūh. who had managed to escape from the custody of Ilak Khān, made abortive efforts to retrieve the fallen fortunes of his family. In Khwarizm he enlisted fortunes of his family. In Khwānizm he enlisted the support of those who still clung to the cause of the Sāmānids With their help he attacked Bukhārā, but failed to take it Thereafter he attacked Nishāpur and inflicted a defeat on Nasr on February 25, 1001 A C When, however, Mahmdd arrived with reinforcements, he fled to Jurjān In September next he appeared again in Khurāsān At his approach Nasr evacuated Nishāpur and applied for reinforcements Mahmdd sent Abū Sarīd Altūnāsh to his help and the combined forces made an attack on Muntasir, who suffered a crushing defeat and took to flight Ere long he came back from Jurjan, whither he had fled, and took Sarakhs He was defeated by Nasr and many of his officers, including Abul Qasim, were taken prisoners and sent to Ghaznin Muntasir tried his luck in Transoxiana and other places, but failure followed him everywhere He now made an appeal for help to Mahmud who issued instructions to the governor of Herat to join forces with him in his venture against llak Khān Without waiting for reinforcements, he marched against Bukhārā and after suffering

heavy losses returned to Khurāsān. To put a stop to the disturbances he was creating in his new dominions, Mahmud sent a large army against him. He fied to Jurjān and made yet another unsuccessful attempt to recover Bukhārā. His stormy career was cut short by an Arab in the Ghuzz desert

After the conquest of Bukhārā by Ilak Khān* and that of Khurāsān by Dealings with Sultan Mahmud, the two great the Khāns of conquerors of their day exchanged Turkistān friendly greetings and accepted the river Oxus as the boundary-line between their kingdoms To strengthen this friendship, Mahmud married the daughter of Ilak Khan, But the Khan coveted the province of Khurasan so much that even this matrimonial alliance did not exercise any check on his ambitions. No sooner had Mahmūd marched against Multan, than he detailed two divisions of his army against Khurāsān-one under the command of his brother, Chaghartigin, and the other under that of his relative, Subashingin. The two generals conquered Balkh and Herat and with their

conquest the whole of Khurāsān passed into the hands of Ilak Khān Mahmūd had anticipated this invasion and had therefore issued necessary instructions to his officers before

his departure from Ghaznin As soon as he

* Muslim historians call these Khāns of Turkistān
'Airfasyabi Turkis' and modern historians call them
'Qarā-Khānds' (M. G. 47, p. 3)

learnt of this invasion, he hurried up the settlement of terms with the ruler of Multan settlement of terms with the ruler of Multan and returned to his capital Taking a huze army with him. which was swelled by the contingents furnished by the Khaljis, he appeared before Balkh Chaghartigin took to flight while Subashitugin was driven from place to place till he was brought to bay near Mary and defeated His brother was taken prisoner and he himself fled to Bukhara Ilak Khan had, meanwhile, sent Chaghartigin to Balkh, which he was allowed to occupy After driving out Subashitugin from Khurasan, Mahmud turned towards Balkh When he reached these Chaghartigis each to be a support of the subashitugin from Khurasan, Mahmud turned towards Balkh When he reached there, Chaghartigh took to his heels and sought shelter in Bukhara Balkh was occupied and Khurasan was brought under control Ilak Khan still aspired for the sovereignty of Khurdsan He now secured the aid of his kinsman, Yusuf Qadir Khan, *ruler of Kashghar, and set out with as many as 50,000 warriors Mahmud marched out to meet him with an army which was a medley of Afghans, Khaliis, Indians, Ghuzz Turkomans and Kurds The two armies met on the plain of Katar on the 5th of January, 1008 A C The battle began favourably for the Khans, but Mahmud's dashing heroism at great personal risks infused fresh life into his soldiers who fell fearlessly on the

^{*} His name is also written as Qadr Khān (T ¾), Quttir Khān (J T) and Qaidu Khān (T G) I have followed Gardin: who is supported by Farrukhi (See ¾ G, 51, f n 1)

foe and scattered the hordes on all sides Mahmud's victory was complete and the spoils of war were enormous With a view to retrieve his reputation, Ilak Khan entered into a secret alliance with the ruler of Qusdar and then proposed to attack Khurasan with the help of his brother, Ahmad Tughān Khān, and Qadır Khān. His efforts bore no fruit, for the proposal was turned down by both the last-named, and of them his brother, Tughān Khān, sent his ambassador to cultivate cordial relations with Mahmud. Thus infuriated, Ilak Khan advanced to invade the territory of his own brother. Before the two brothers met on the battle-field a reconciliation was brought about between them by Mahmud when the matter was referred to him for arbitration * Ilak Khan was succeeded by his brothers, Ahmad Tughan Khan and Abū Mansur Arslan Khan, both of whom remained on good terms with Mahmud One of them. viz, Arslan Khan, also married one of his daughters to Mas'ud, son of Mahmud On Arslan's death, his kingdom became a bone of contention between his kinsmen, Qadir Khan of Kashghur and Tughan Khan, brother of 'Alitigin of Bukhara In the struggle for succession that ensued between them, the latter was successful Lest the two ambitious brothers should grow strong and menace the security of Khurasan, Mahmud made up his mind to curb their power. Complaints received from

^{*} T. Y., 248-50; and K T, 13, 156

the people of Transoviana against the tyranny of 'Altingin provided a most plausible pretext and Mahmud marched against Samarqand where 'Altingin had taken his stand At his approach 'Alitigin took to flight, but his wife and children were taken prisoners and treated with respect consistent with their position. Quair Khan of Kashghar and Mahmūd exchanged greetings and cemented their friendship by matrimonial alliances While Mahmud married his daughter. Zainab, to Qadir Khān's son, Bughrā Khān, * Qadir Khan gave one of his daughters in marriage to Muhanimad, son of Mahmud † Hardly had Mahmud left Samargand for Ghaznīn when 'Alitigin emerged from his retreat, defeated Qadir Khan and took possession of Samarqand. Qadir Khan sought but failed to secure the support of Mahmud, because the latter was about to proceed against Somnath On his return. however, Mahmud sent a large force to Qadır Khan who defeated 'Asstigin and compelled him to come to terms Thereafter Oadir Khan continued to be friendly towards Mahmud

The Ma'munds, se, the rulers of Jurjaniyyah, were at first the feudatories of Jurjaniyah of the Samands but became independent later on. One of them, Abul Hasan 'Ali, married Mahmud's

^{*} His original name was Yaghantigin (T M, 230)

[†] For marriage ceremonies ctc, see Z A, 83-84, and T M. 230-31

sister called Kah-Kāljī His brother Abul Abbās, who succeeded him, married his widow and pro-fessed to possess profound respect for Mahmud When, however, the Sultan asked him to acknowledge him as his overlord, he referred the matter to a council of officers who refused to submit to foreign yoke When the soldiers learnt of this, they mutinied, but were silenced by a lavish distribution of gold. This was, however, a luil before the storm that was yet to come Finding himself between the devil and the deep sea, 'Abbas contracted a secret alliance with the Khans of Turkistan When Mahmud heard of this secret alliance, he set out with a huge army against Balkh But for the timely intervention of the Khans of Turkistan. Mahmud would have dealt a decisive blow to his brother-in-law 'Abbas had now no alternative but to submit. He acknowledged Mahmud as his suzerain and inserted his Manmid as his suzerain and inserted his name in the Khubba The soldiers, who had been silenced only with gold, regarded this submission as a standing insult to the honour of their country. They advanced on the capital and perpetrated a number of atrocties which culminated in the assassination of 'Abul Abbas On hearing of the tragic fate of his vassal and brother-in-law, Mahmud marched against Khwanzm at the head of his army Before taking action he arranged the safe return of his sister and secured the neutrality of the Khāns of Turkistān The regicides inflicted heavy losses on the Ghaznawid forces, but

ultimately victory sided with the Sultan. The rebels were completely crushed and the murderers of Abul Abbas were put to the sword The government of Khwārizm and Junjaniyyah was entrusted to Amīr Hājib Altūntash who had distinguished himself in the fight, and the title of Khwārizmshāh was conferred upon him recognition of his services Afer introducing necessary administrative changes and making appointments and transfers, Mahmūd marched back to Ghaznin

Abū Nasr Muhammad bin Asad-ash-Shār was wise enough to bow before Conquest of the rising star of Sultan Mahmud. Gharshistan. He acknowledged the Sultan as his suzerain and read the Khutba in his name But his son, Shah Muhammad, the younger Shar, offended Mahmud by refusing to accompany him on an expedition and behaving improperly when called upon to explain his conduct As a result, Gharshistan* was attacked The elder Shar submitted, but the younger took position in an almost inaccessible hillfort and from there offered resistance. The fort was besieged and a breach was made in one of its outer walls. The garrison held out heroically, but eventually they sought safety in surrendering themselves Shah Muhammad was made captive along with a number

^{*} Gharshistān is also called Gharjistān and Gharj-ash-Shar in some accounts

of his officers and sent to Mastang,* where he died some time later. Gharshistan was annexed to the Ghaznawid Empire and placed in charge of Abul Hasan-al-Mani'i, governor of Marv-Rūd, in 1012 A C. The elder Shar was taken to Ghaznin and treated with marked respect,

The origin of the Saljūqs is shrouded in the thick mist of antiquity. There are several conflicting accounts The rise of the Salitigs about them Of them, the most probable seems to be this An important section of the Ghuzz tribe shot off from the parent-stock under their leader, named Saljuq, after whose name it came to be known later on, and migrated to Transoxiana and settled down there times they rendered help to the Samanids in their wars with their neighbours of Turkistan By lending a helping hand to 'Alitigin in his conquest of Bukhārā, Isrāil son of Saljūq acquired marched against Transoxiana, 'Alītigīn managed to make good his escape but Israil fell into his hands, was taken prisoner and sent to the fort of Kalanjar † According to an account, the Saljuqs were either induced or forced to migrate to the south of the Orus and settle down in Khurasan

^{*} Mastang is situated in modern Balüchistän

[†] This Kalanjar was different from the fort of Kalinjar, situated in Bundhelkhand 1t was situated to the north of Jhelum in the pass leading into Kashmir (Vide M G, 64 foot-note)

It seems more probable, how ever, that they remamed in Transoxiana, owning allegiance to the Sultan and waging wars on their own account till the close of his reign when they began to make encroachments upon his immediate possessions. Lest they should become a menace to his power, Mahmid led a number of expeditions against them personally and defeated them in many battles. They were held in check at that time and they could not enter Khurāsān in force until the accession of Sultān Mas'ad to the throne."

When Bughrajug, the governor of Füshani, had gone to help Manmud in his Conquest of Sistan. struggle for the throne, his province was occupied by Tahir son of Wail-ud-Daulah Abū Ahmad Khalaf bin Ahmad, the governor of Sistan who had become independent after the fall of the Samanids accession Mahmud helped Bughrajug and enabled him to recover his province, but he pursued the enemy in a state of drunkenness and got killed In December, 999 A C Mahmud marched against Khalaf and forced him to purchase peace on payment of 100,000 dinars as indomnity After that the Sultan returned to his capital. Subsequently a quarrel took place between Khalaf and his son, Tahir, and the father managed to imprison his son and put him to death. Infuriated by this

[^] See K T , 18, 266-68 and 321 ff; T N , 116 ff , T G , 134-35 , Z A , 84 ff , and Eacy of Islam, 11, 168 ff

act of Khalaf, the people invited Mahmid to rescue them from his tyranny. In response, the Sultan set out at the head of his army and laid siege to the fort of Sistan Khalaf offered a stubborn resistance, but sought safety in submission. Mahmid extended him his pardon, allowed him to retain his riches and sent him to Juzianan at his own choice. After appointing Hajib Qinji as governor of Sistan, the Sultan went back to Ghaznin. Not long after his departure a rebellion broke out in that province and Mahmid had to take the field in person. He put down the rebellion and massacred a large number of the rebels, Placing the province in charge of his own brother Nasr. Mahmid returned to Ghaznin.

According to the Tarikh--Gusidah, when Khalaf bin Ahmad of Sistan was of the utle of Suitan defeated by Mahmud, he addressed the victor as 'Suitan' an appellation which signifies authority or

power-and the latter liked it and adopted it as his title, giving up that of Amir Baizawi, on the other hand, would have us believe that the Khalifa of Baghdad (Al-Qadir Billah) confirmed Mahmad in the government of Khurasan and Sistan, senhim a robe of honour and also conferred upon him the title of 'Salitan' in honour of his victory over Abdul Malik This seems to be improver abdul Malik This seems to be

bable for the simple reason that Mahmud never

^{*} T. G., 396; and Ceins of Ghazm Kings, 5.

[†] S. A. M. A., 9, foot-note,

used this title in his coins and remained content with the title of Amir, with which the Khalifa distinguished him. There is a strong tradition that Mahmūd was the first king who styled himself as Sulfan?

Muhammad bin Suri, the ruler of Mandish (eastern Ghūr), acknowledged the Conquest suzerainty of Subuktigin but of Ghor death and adopted a hostile attitude In 1011 A C Mahmud marched against him, The Ghurids pooled their resources, offered him a united front and inflicted a defeat on Altuntash who led the advance-guard. Mahmud joined him immediately afterwards and their combined forces defeated the Ghurids in some engagements After these reverses. Ibn Suri retired to the inaccessible hills from where he could not be dislodged Mahmud resorted to a ruse. He turned back and feigned flight The simple unassuming Ghands now rushed out in pursuit of the Ghaznawids, and when they reached a plain Mahmud turned round and made a desperate charge on the disorderly hordes and scattered them pell-mell. Ibn Suri, his son and officers were taken prisoners and sent to Ghaznīn. Abū 'All son of Ibn Suri, who had quarrelled with

^{*} C H. I., in, 14, foot-note † S N. 44, K T., ix, 92, T. N., 75, and W. Barthold's Turkestān. 271.

^{† &#}x27;Utbi calls him simply Ibn Süri Also see M G,

his father and taken refuge at Ghaznin, was made governor of Mandish In 1015 A C. Mahmüd attacked Khwab'n,* captured some forts and returned to Ghaznin Some time later the north-western part of Ghir, called Tab, was conquered by Mas'üd and almost the whole of Ghūr, excepting perhaps the inaccessible interior, was annexed to the Ghaznawid Empire †

Qusdar was converted into a dependency of Ghaznin by Subukugin. In 1010-11 A C its ruler renounced allegiance and withheld tribute at the instigation of lak Khān. In December, 1011 A. C Mahmūd mobilized his forces against it and laid siege to its fort. Its ruler offered submission and promised to pay 15,000,000 dirhams; and to remit the annual tribute regularly. In return for all this he was allowed to retain his kingdom as a devendency of Ghaznin.

In 1020 A C. Mahmūd undertook an expedition against 'the pleasant valleys' of the rivers' Nūr and Qīrāt \$ While the ruler of the Qīrāt valley offered submission and accepted Islam

^{*} This was the south-western district of Ghür (Vide M G, 72, foot-note 4)

^{## 164,72, 1001-11016 47} ## 1514,70 ff ## T Y., 250-51 That the amount is rather exag-

gerated admits of no doubt

§ These rivers are in modern Käfiristän

with most of his men, that of the Nūr vailey adopted a hostile attitude, but had to bow before the might and means of Mahmūd. The people of these vaileys worshipped the non and were apparently Buddhists who worshipped the Sūkiya Sinha (hon), the Buddha. Mahmūd appointed a number of teachers to acquaint them with the rudiments of Islam and returned to Ghaznin.

At the end of the year 1019 A. C. Mahmad marched against the Afghans, the Afghans the Holland the Indus Heinflicted a most severe chastisement on the Afghans who used to make raids into the frontier towns of the Ghaznawid Empire and had become so daring as to waylay the Imperial forces on their way back from Kanauj. It is said that very few, except women and children, escaped the terrible execution ordered by the Sultan.

SubuktigIn Adu Promised Shams-ul-Ma'alī Abul Hasan Qabūs bin Washmithe Ziyārds to him, but died before fulfilling the promised Mahmūd vanted to do what was left undone by his father on account of his death, but accomplished nothing. Qabūs was, however, able to occupy juriān in August, 998 A C. and to

^{*} Z A . 78-79

[†] They were neither Ghilzals nor Ghurids as erroneously supposed by some scholars (See M G, 76, f n 1)

establish his sway over Tabaristan and Jibal He was not destined to enjor a long reign. He was deposed by the army and his son, Minüchihr, was raised to the throne. Mahmūd took up the cause of Dara, another son of Qabūs, who had quarrelled with his father and taken refuge at Ghaznīn. But Minüchihr disarmed his opposition by recognizing him as his suzerain and promising to pay 50,000 dinares annually as tribute. A little later Mahmūd married one of his daughters to him. Once, when the fall of Raiy created misgivings in his mind, Minūchihr adopted a defiant attitude, but made ample apologies and paid a fine of 500,000 dinares to appease his overlord.

The rulers of Mekran were the feudatories of the Buwaihids. After the fall of the Buwaihids, one of them, vis , Makirau, as his suzeram On Subuktigin as his successor, Mahmid On his own death one of his sons, named 'Isa, defeated the other, called Abul Mu'askar, and forced him to seek shelter in Sistan Mahmid was at that time away in India on his expedition against Somnath On his return to Ghaznin when Abul Mu'askar waited upon him, he treated him with kindness. Lest the Sultan should raise Abul Mu'askar to the throne, 'Isa acknowledged Mahmid as his overlord. He was

^{*} T Y . 278-80 and 283, and T M . 245-46

46

then called upon to provide maintenance for his brother and was confirmed in the government of Mekran Towards the close of Mahmud's reign when he was harassed by the Saljugs. 'Isa declared his independence, which was ensured for some time on account of Mahmud's death

On the death of Fakhr-ud-Daulah, the Buwashed ruler of Raiv, his widow Conquest of was allowed to govern his do-Ran, Hamaminions as a regent of his minor dan & Isfahan son. Maid-ud-Daulah. Mahmud was too clever to risk his reputation by leading his forces against a defenceless widow magnanimity was not, however, extended to her son when he grew to manhood and assumed the reins of kingship on the death of his mother. His reign was a continuous scene of misgovernment Terrorized by the Dailamite troops, he invoked the aid of Sultan Mahmud. The Sultan, who was waiting for such an opportunity, immediately sent an army under the command of Hajib 'Ali who took him captive and sent him to Ghaznin, from where he was sent to India. Then followed a ruthless persecution of the Carmathians. Batinis and Mu'tazilites and a wholesale destruction of their literature . The chiefs of the neighbouring places came forward and owed allegiance to him But the ruler of Abhar, Sariahan, Shahrazur and Zaniant, named

^{*} See Z A, 91, K. T, 1x, 262, and M G, 83 † For the locality of these places, vide The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, by G. Le Srange, p 221.

Ibrahim bin Marzuban of Dailam, generally known as "Salar", had the audacity enough to incur the displeasure of Mahmud by refusing to owe allegiance to him His destruction was therefore decided upon and a large army was sent against him under the command of an old rival of his, called Marzuban bin Hasan, who had sought shelter with the Sultan, to punish him for his patriotism. Forming an alliance with some of the leading chiefs of the Dailamites, Marzuban marched against his rival and captured Qazwin without experiencing much opposition Meanwhile, Mahmud returned to his capital and, availing himself of his absence, the Salar emerged from his retreat, inflicted on his rival a sharp defeat and occupied Qazwin, Prince Mas'ud, who was placed in charge of the new province and entrusted with the task of reducing the remaining parts of the Buwaihid territory, opened his regime by leading an expedition against him in conjunction with Marzuban He laid siege to the stronghold where the Salar had taken shelter, but the garrison held out heroically and frustrated the efforts of the besiegers. Failing to take the fort by storm, Mas'ud resorted to underhand means and achieved his object: Holding out high hopes to some of the responsible officers of the Salar and thus winning them over to his side, he acquainted himself with the vulnerable point of the fort and commenced operations in right earnest. Finding himself betrayed by his own officers, the gallant Salar came out of his fort

and made a desperate charge on the besiegers. He was, however, defeated and taken prisoner. His son offered submission and promised to pay tribute Mas'ud next attacked and occupied Ilamadan after inflicting a defeat on the deputy of 'Ala-ud-Daulah bin Kakawath' The turn of Isfahan came next 'Ala-ud-Daulah was allowed to retain it at the recommendation of the Khallfa of Baghdad on the condition that he would pay sum of 20,000 dinars annually as tribute Meanwhile, Mahmud breathed his last (30th April, 1030 A. C.) and Mas'ud marched to Nishapur to make a bid for the throne †

* His full name was Abu Ja'far Muhammad bin

Dushmanzıyar and was also known as sımplı lbn Kakavatıh The famous philosopher Aba 'lli Sini (vıcenna) flourished at his court under his pitronage (K. T., 12, 279, and Tärikh-ul-Hukamā, by Al-Qufu, pp. 419-26)

 $[\]tau$ K T, 1x, 262-63 and 279, T M, 11-25 and 359, T N, 87 Baihaqi also states that Mas'nd was left at Raiv with an ill-equipped army of only 2,000 (T. M. 258).

CHAPTER III

SULTAN MAHMUD THE GREAT-II

HIS INVASIONS OF INDIA

AlptigIn and his successors had led a number of expeditions against the frontier towns of India and Subuktigin Introductory. had 'fought numerous battles' with Raja Jaipal of Waihind (modern Hund) and extended his kingdom as far as Lamghan. It was left for Mahmud to continue the forward policy of his father and to carry his conquests far into the interior of India. When the Khalifa of Baghdad recognized him as an independent ruler in 999 A C. 'he made it incumbent upon himself to lead an expedition against India every year." In pursuance of this resolution he led not less than seventeen-expeditions against India and it must be recorded to his credit that in none of them he suffered a defeat †

^{*} This is what 'Utbī says (T Y, 134) The translation of this passage in B & D (Vol 11, p 24) is inaccurate, and it has musled many in that it implies that Mahmdd took a vow to undertake a holy vor against Hind verry year and casts a halo of Jihād on or rather gives a touch of religious fanaticism to what were purely secular exploits (Vude Chapter I)

[†] The accounts of Mahmud's seventeen (not twelve, as erroneously stated by some historians) expeditions against India, as given in the contemporary chronicles and later histories, are materially discrepant Their number and dates differ in different accounts, the

The first of his Indian expeditions was directed against the frontier towns and forts of the Khyber Pass in the month of September, 1000 A C.

It resulted in the capture of several phers. H wing entrusted the government of the newls conquered territory to an able officer, Mahmud returned to Ghazafin with as much booty as he was able to collect. **

Jaipāl, the Rāja of Waihind, whom Subuktigin had twice defeated and reduced to submission, was no longer friendly Muhammad bin 'Ali, the reputed author of the Majma-ili-Ansāb, informs us that after the death of Amir Subuktigin, Rāja Jaipāl tried to win bick what

spoils obtained by the Sultain in each of them have been variously estimated—in some so evaggerated as to stage out on one controlled on the same of persons and places are too otten corrupted, confused and carriessly recorded by the series. I have evereised the greatest care in reconciling these conflicting and even contradictory accounts and tried to be accurate as far as possible.

Gardit is the only contemporary chromoter who makes a mention of this expedition. Ferishta and Nizhmid-din Ahmad are the two liter historians who lives reproduced it in their works. They seem to liave diving more activity Zannul-Allibar, but loch of them lives made some mistakes in coping it. Sir W. Hang (C. H. 1, 111, 13) regards the expedition as apocraphal without assigning any good reasons. It was not midding the more activities of the supering and properly chromosometric by the contemporary chromoters obviously lictures it was a comparatively minor expedition, confined only to the frontier towns of India.

the Amir had conquered from him and attacked Mahmid, who set out from Ghaznin at the head of his army to repel the invasion.* The army of the Raja is said to have consisted of 80,000 foot, 12,000 horse and 300 elephants. The two armies encamped in the neighbourhood of Peshawar and in a fierce fight that took place between them on the 27th of November, 1001 A. C., the Hindus were defeated and put to flight. Their Raja, with lifteen of his sons and grandsons, was made captive and sent to 'a slave market' in Khurāsa nad sold there for 80 dinars † The spoils were 'beyond

^{*} Majma-ul-Ansāb quoted by Dr M Nāzīm in M G, 87, foot-note 1

The original word of which the English equivalent is taken to be a market is Man-Yazid. which has puzzied a number of competent scholars On the authority of the MSS of the Tabaat-t-Nastri. Reverty assures us that 'nearly every copy' has the word 'Man-Yasid'. While translating the relevant passage, Sir H Elhot (E & D, 11, 270) has erroneously written 'Vazd' for 'Man-Yasid' On the authority of the MSS of the Tabaāt-1-Nāsırī, Raverty calls it 'Mau-Yasīd', and relying on the MS of a gasida of 'Unsuri. Dr M Nazim calls it Mirand Both these scholars have taken it to be the name of a place This is perhaps because it is followed by the word Khurasan in the original text. On the authority of the Gluvas-ul-Lughat and the Muvvad-ul-Fusala, Professor Hodivala (S. I-M. H., xm-xiv and 191-93) takes it to mean a market, an auction, and an auctioneering room' and, after discussing the point at length, comes to the conclusion that "Jayapala was publicly exposed at one of the slave-auctions in some market in Khurasan, just like thousands of other Hindu captives" His conclusion is confirmed by Isami, the author of the Futuh-us-Salatin, a metrical history of Mediæval India (1000-1349 A C.).

all bounds of calculation. They included, interaline, sixteen precious necklaces of peaths, one of which was of enormous value. The Raja was restored to his kingdom on the conditions that he would pay 250,000 dinurs as ranson and give fifty clephants Jaipai was then allowed to go to his capital; but in order to ensure the fulfilment of the conditions of the peace-treaty, the Sultan detained two princes, a son and a grandson of the Raja, as hostages After spending the winter months at Waihind and reducing the neighbouring places, Mahmüd returned to Ghazain in the spring of the same year Humilated by repeated reverses, the Raja sanh low in the eyes of his subjects 'who refused to

written in 1350 A C century and recently lighted upon and published by Dr Mahdi Hussain of Agra. The relevant verses are

تلک همار اوا حددو شکست تکادش همان رائے چینال اصدی میرد بدیال نازار بوده میرد شدید میرد ناتمال درا میرد شدید میرد شدید میرد شدید میرد سرائیش بحاری در الدوحتد بالیش بحاری در الدوحتد ان در all the, it is impossible to agree with Dr M Virim who says that "the sale of Jaipri meant only the senge of his ransom (#61 6, 87) The object of Mahmad seems to have been to intimidate the Raja so that he inight vield to list demands anconditionally.

Or M Nazim erroneously gives the number of the nuclinees captured as fifteen (M G, 87) One necklace, which was of enormous value, was taken from the Riphunself and fifteen from his relatives. Hence sixteen is the correct number (T F, 1, 24).

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of Islam.' When he left for Ghaznin he suffered great losses on the way, in the first place because the Indus was in flood and it exacted a neavy toll, and secondly because Abbi Fatch Dabd, the ruler of Mu tan blocked the passage of his army through his territories and augmented its sufferings † Thus after suffering many hardships and sustaining many losses, the Sultan reached Ghaznin about the middle of 1005 A C.

Shaikh Hamid Lawi; had cultivated friendly felding and thus secured his position in Sind and Multan. But his grandson, Abul Fatch Daud bin Nasir, reversed this cautious policy and gave offence to Sultan Mahimud hy embracing the Carmathan creed, entering

 $^{^+}$ Ibid., and T Y, 210 Note that conversion precedes preaching and propaganda

⁾ K T. IN. 149

[†] Ferishta (TT, 1, 24) has erroneously written (Cd II 1, 111, 14). Professor M Habbi (S M G, 23) and others despite the fact that it was fully exploded by Raverty long axo (Mihran, 323 note). "Lodi" is a miswriting of Lawi who, according to Mavudi, was one of the ancestors of Dadd (M Z, 234, 383) Mas'udi is supported by many other authorities and they all arree that the rulers of Multan were the descendants of one U-vima him Lawi him Ghalib The Lodis were Mighins, and according to Raverti, "there were no Lodis or Lodi rulers in Multan at this time nor centuries afterwards" (See W G, 95, foot-inde 5, and 8 f.-1 M 1, 141)

into an alliance with the Rāja of Bhātiya and attacking the Ghaznawid army on its returnmench after the conquest of Bhātiya.* Thus enraged, Sultan Mahmūd set out from Ghaznin in the spring of 1006 A C and launched his next expedition against the ruler of Multan The direct route to Multan being risky because it was not safe to cross the Indus lower down, ne Sultan proposed to pass through Anandpal's territories and cross the river near Peshāwar, but was opposed by the forces of the Rāja. After defeating the Rāja and driving him into the hills of Kashmīr, he resumed his march to Multan Not willing to court destruction in an open battle, Dānd shut himself up in the fort and defended his position for a week, after which he sued for peace † Imposing a tribute of 20,000 golden durhams per year on

^{*} Ferishta simply says that Daud had annoyed Mahmud by his unbecoming behaviour (T F , 1, 25)

Dāūd and exacting promises of future allegiance, good faith and abjuration of heretical beliefs, Mahmūd marched back to Ghaznīn, leaving Sukhpāl, alias Nawāsa Shāh, in charge of the campaign against the outlying parts of Multān. He would have taken a decisive step against Dāūd and completed the subjugation of the entire province of Multān, but had to content himself with the terms stated above because hardly had he won victory when he received the news of the invasion of his homelands by llak Khān, the King of Kāshghar.

Taking advantage of Mahmūd's troubles,

(5) Bhātiya

Nawāsa Shāh'r apostatized and declared himself independent

Such a conduct on his part was bound to bring

Dr M Nāzīm, on the authority of Guzīdah (T G, 397) says that Sukhpāl was left in "charge of the government of Multān" (M G, 98) and Sir W Haig says that he was appointed governor of Und (Waihind) but does not specify his authority (C H I, m, 15) In view of the fact that a peace was concluded with Dāūd, it is wrong to say that Sukhpāl was entrusted with the government of Multān Haig seems to have followed Ferishta (T F, 1, 25) a little carelessly All that Ferishta says is that Sukhpāl was left in charge of the campaign against Bhatinda (Bhātiya)

He was a grandson of Raja Jaipāl, who had been left as a hostage with Subuktigin and who is said to have been taken prisoner and converted to Islām by Abū 'Alī Sīmjūrī after the defeat of Mahmūd at Nishāpur (Z A, 69). He was called Nawās Shāh because he was the Nawāsa (grandson) of the Shāh (Jaipāl of the Hindūshāhiya Dynasty)

on him the usual punishment. The danger from Kashghar being over, Mahmmd advanced at the head of his army early in the year 1008 A. C. and attacked him. Nawasa Shah was defeated, dispossessed of 400,000 darhams, which he had accumulated, and thrown into prison for the rest of his life.*

Anandpal, who had allied himself with Datid, the ruler of Multan, and blocked the passage of the Muslim army through his territory, now sent ambassadors on all sides and invoked the assistance of the neighbouring princes of Hindustan for stemming the rising tide of the Muslim conquest. Among those who readily responded to his request were the Rājas of Ujjain, Gwālior, Kāļinijar, Kanauj, Delhi and Ajmer, all of whom joined him in his invasion of the Ghaznawid Kingdom. This was the first Hindu confederacy formed against Mahmud and to overthrow it was no easy task.† Trilochanpāl.; son of Anandpal, was entrusted with the

^{*} Z A, 69, T Y, 223; and T F, 1, 26.

[†] Ferishta alone is responsible for making a mention of this confederacy (T. F., 1, 26) In the list of the confederace he includes the Rijas of Delhi and Ajmer as well, but it is contended that Delhi and Ajmer were not founded at that time (See II G, 89, foot-note 3, and Indian Antiquary, xxvi, 162).

[†] Dr M, Nazīm, following 'Utbī (E & D, n. 33) calls him Brahmanpāl, which is an error. (See S I-M H., 133).

command of the combined forces of the Rajas and directed to advance towards Peshawar These forces were further swelled on the way by the enlistment of 'the wild and warlike' Gakhars So great was the national excitement among the Hindus on this occasion that they spared nothing to destroy the neighbouring Muslim kingdom root and branch Those who were poor gave ample proof of their patriotism by contributing as much as they could from their meagre earnings. Even their women are said to have sold their jewellery and gold ornaments in order to augment the resources of war On receiving the news of this Hindu invasion, Mahmud marched out on the 31st of December, 1008 A C, crossed the Indus and reached the plain opposite Wailand. This time Mahmud observed that unlike before the Hindus had sunk their differences and pooled their resources for national defence. He was highly impressed by the devotion of the Hindus and their women When the battle began, the bare-headed and bare-footed Gakhars, armed with spears and swords, appeared on the scene, rushed into the thick of the fight and killed a large number of Muslims The piudence and personal prowess of the Sultan, coupled with, a piece of good luck, turned the tables against the Hindus When the fury of the Hindu attack abated and the Hindus were exhausted, the Argus-eyed Mahmud sent his personal guards to sweep round and make a sudden attack on the rear of the Hindu army. This was done

and, while effecting a partial change of front to repulse the attack, the Hindû ranks ran riot and in a state of confusion they took to flight Mahmud won the day and a large amount of booty, including thirty elephants, fell into his hands. The dispersal of the Hindû hordes opened the way for further penetration by revealing the weakness of the Indian military system.

Mahmudnext marched to the fort of Nagarkot. situated near Kangra on the sum-(7) Capture mit of a hill and surrounded by the of Nagarkot river Baganga. The fort was a place of great sanctity, because it had a temple. which stood high in the estimation of the people and enjoyed a wide reputation as the repository of most of the wealth of the neighbouring Raias Mahmud laid siege to it and the garrison surrendered it after three days "heroic defence." The spoils obtained were 'beyond the limit of calculation'. Among other precious things, they included a vast amount of gold and silver ingot, costly apparel, a profusely decorated throne and a house of silver.* Even after making considerable allowance for exaggeration, the fact cannot escape recognition that the spoils were colossal, so much so that envoys from different countries flocked to

^{* &}quot;Utbl has given a graphic description of this 'house of silver' From it we can safely infer that it was a folding pavilion made of silver, chiefly meant for use in roval jour neys and progresses It was not a silver throne as 'Unsuri' would have us believe (See S I-M H, 143)

Ghaznīn when that wealth was being displayed there. Placing the fort in charge of his own officers, the Sultān returned to Ghaznīn in the middle of the year 1009 A. C. After his departure Anandpāl managed to re-establish his sway in the Salt Range, with Nandāna as his capital

This time he attacked Narāyan or (7) Narāyan Narāyanpur' and inflicted a stunning defeat on its Rāja. After capturing and plundering the town, he returned to his capital. Some time later the agents of the Rāja waited upon him with proposals of a permanent peace and 'their good wishes for his future prosperity.' According to the terms of the peace-treaty that was then concluded, the Rāja offered to pay a yearly tribute and fifty elephants and to send 2,000 soldiers to serve in the Ghaznawīd army. Mahmūd was pleased to accept these terms. The peace is believed to have given a great encouragement to trade between India and Khurāsān. Politically, this expedition opened the way to the heart of Hindūstān and the Sultān could now march through Narāyanpur and attack the Rājas beyond

^{*}Cunningham identified it with Narayanpur in Alwar State (See his Ancient Geography, pp 338-44, and ASI, Vol 11, pp 242-47 and Vol vi, pp 91-93) Of all the contemporary chroniclers, 'Utbi alone has mentioned this expedition in his book. He does not give the date but places it between the expeditions to Bhimnagar (Nagarkot) and Ghür

Taking advantage of the invasion of Khurasan

(8) Multan

by Ilak Khan and of Mahmad's
absence, Abul Fateh Daud, the
ruler of Multan, renounced allegiance to the
Sultan and declared his independence. Mahmad's
next expedition was, therefore, directed against
him. It was undertaken in October, 1010 A. C.
This time Daud was taken prisoner and sent to
Ghaznin and confined in the fort of Ghurak'r
Multan was completely subjugated and annexed
to Ghaznin

After appointing a governor there,
Mahmad marched back to Ghaznin

In 1012 A C Mahmud proposed to march from Ghaznin with the object of capturing Thanesar, which was then one of the most famous shrines of India, renowned for the age-long riches accumulated in ts vaults On learning of his intention, Anandpal† sent his men to Ghaznin to request Mahmud to take fifty elephants from him every year and impose an annual tribute on the people of that place

^{*}Ghūrak or Ghorak (-, y, p) is situated about fifty miles not-hewest of Qandhāt* (M. G., 99, n. 3). In the Taribin-Ferishta (1, 27) it is written as jy. It appears that the been left out by the scribe, for Ghūr was conquered a year later (1011 A C)

[†] Dr. Nāzīm calis him Trilochanpāl, which is wrong, because 'the Thänesar campaign was undertaken during the life of Anaudpāl' (S. IG, 3.2, n, 1.4 and T, F, I, 27) Sir W Haig erroneously calls him Jaipāl II (C H, I, I, II)—18l.

and spare it because it had an idol called Chakraswāmīn, to which the Hindus were so devoutly attached The Sultan declined the offer and ordered the Raja to allow full and free passage to his forces through his territory. The Raja could not but obey, but at the same time he warned the Raja of Thanesar about the impending danger. On receipt of this timely information the Raja of Thanesar sought and secured the support of the neighbouring princes. But before the clumsy machinery of the Indian confederacy could move, Mahmud marched through the Punjab, defeated on the way a Raja called Ram, who opposed his advance near the Sutley, and reached Thanesar At his approach, the Raja took to flight, leaving the Chakraswāmīn to take care of itself. The invader entered the town without encountering opposition, because it was found in an undefended position. A vast booty, together with a large number of captives and the idol Chakraswāmin, was transported to Ghaznīn †

of the Wheel" It was a bronze image of Vishnu, which held the weapon, called *Chuthra*, in one of its hands (See Sachao, 1, 117, and Z A, 70)

^{† &#}x27;Utbī places the invasion of Thanesar after that of Nandana He does not give the date and therefore seems to have made a mistake Elliot follows him in the error to mislead many others, including Dr M Nāzim (M G, 91 and 103) and Sir W Haig (C H I, 111, 17) The expedition against Thānesar was undertaken during the lifetime of Anandpāl and therefore the one against Nandana, which

Trilochanpal,* the Raja of Nandana,† "was personally well inclined towards (10) Nandana. the Mussalmans, but he seems to have been a weak man and the direction of affairs came into the hands of his son, known to contemporaries as the 'Nidar' (Fearless) Bhīm, who stoutly reversed the policy of his grandfather and put an end to the Ghaznavid alliance."I In order to keep his way clear to India, Mahmud marched against Nandana in the autumn of 1013 A. C. but abandoned the expedition owing to a heavy snow-fall. In the following spring (1014 A. C) the Ghaznawids set out again, "ascending the hills like mountain-goats and descending them like torrents of water " On hearing of Mahmud's advance, Trilochanpal entrusted the defence of the fort to his son, Bhīmpāl, and himself retired to the Kashmir Pass, presumably with the object of enlisting the support of Sangramaraia, the ruler of Kashmir. On his arrival, Mahmud laid siege to the fort and, after some days' futile fighting, succeeded in drawing out a detachment of Bhimpal into the plain and putting it to the

was directed against his son, could not have preceded it Gardizi (Z A, 70) places it in 1011-12 A C, which seems to be correct Ferishta adheres to the correct order $(T F_1, 27-28)$ I have followed Gardizi and Ferishta

^{*}Sir W Haig (C H I, 111, 117) calls him Jaipāl II which is wrong

[†] It is called Nardin by 'Utbī and Nandunah by Baihaqī and Gardīzī It is situated in the Salt-Range.

¹ See S. M G , 34

sword. On receipt of fresh reinforcements, Bhīmpāl appeared in the plain and attacked the invaders, but was beaten back. The Hindus took to flight to find refuge in the fort of Nandana. The fort was besieged and the garrison sought safety in submission. After placing a garrison in Nandana, Mahmud pushed on in pursuit of Trilochanpāl, defeated him in a valley to the north of Jhelum and received the submission of "numerous Rājas of the neighbourhood." Leaving Sārūgh as governor of Nandana and possessing himself of immense booty, Mahmud returned to Ghaznīn.

In 1015 A. C. the Sultan started from Ghaznīn at the head of his army and pro-(11) Kashmir posed to penetrate into Kashmir, probably with the object of punishing Sangramarāja for helping Trilochanpāl. He, however, failed to storm the fort of Lohkot. * After reducing the neighbouring regions, he abandoned the enterprise and returned. On his way back his soldiers lost their way, with the result that many of them perished in the extensive morasses that blocked their passage. This expedition against Kashmīr was followed by another in 1021 A. C., but that too suffered the fate of its predecessor and the Sultan finally gave up the idea of conquering Kashmīr.†

† Z A., 79

Kalhāna and Gardīzī call it Lohkot and Lohārkotta respectively Both these names mean 'The Iron Fort' It is identified with modern Loharīn. (NI. G., 104, f. n 6).

The twelfth expedition was undertaken with a view to penetrate right into the interior of the Indian Continent. In 1018 A. C. the Sultan set out at the head of a huge army, recruited chiefly from Central Asia. Passing through the Punjab, crossing the Junna and capturing all the forts and fortified places, including Sirsäwa,* that blocked his passage, he reached Baran (modern Bulandshehr), whose governor, Hara Datta, tendered submission and embraced Isläm along with his 10,000 men. From there Mahmdd marched to Mahaban,† stuated in the Muttra District (U. P.), whose chief, Kul

Chand, also submitted without offering any

* For the origin and antiquity of Sirsawa, see A S I.,

[†] Gardizi calls at Mahawan and 'Unsuri calls at Mahawan It is situated six miles east of Muttra on the left hank of the lunns (Sac S. I.M. H. 146)

left bank of the Jumna. (See S I-M H., 146).

I Kul Chand is said to have been only a 'governor'

of the fort (C H. I, m, 19) This is moorrect "Uthi's reference to him that he was "a Satamic leader, who had assumed superiority over all other rulers, defeated, put to flight everyone he had fought with and possessed a great army, numerous elephants and 'strong forts which were secure from attack and capture" militates against the theory that he was but a "governor" and conclusively shows that he was one of the greatest and strongest rulers of his day—a conclusion which is also confirmed by the fact that in the battle he fought with Mahmid as many as 50,000 of his soldiers were slam and not less than 150 of his elephants were captured after his defeat. Fersishta (T F, 29) calls him a Riga Professor Hodynala suggests that Kul Chand was none other than Kalla Chid (See S I-M.H., 164-47).

resistance. A quarrel having arisen between the soldiers of the Sultān and those of Kul Chand, a number of Hindūs were slain; and the staggering chief, finding himself betrayed, slew his wife and children and stabbed himself to death with a dagger. A large booty, including 185 elephants, fell into the hands of the Muslims. Mahmūd resumed his march and advanced against the great ecclesiastical city of Muttra, the birth-place of the deified hero, Srī Krishna, which was studded with shrines, blazing with gems and jewels. Having successfully entered that city and collected a vast booty, including 'a sapphire of 450 misqāls' * and 5 idols of

This sapphire is said to have weighed 450 misqāls, $i \in 32,400$ grs =about 43° lbs Avoirdupois or 58° lbs Troy Critics like Sir W. Haig and Dr. M. Nāzim are stumped by this statement. The former says that it is difficult to believe stories of a sapphire weighing over 16 pounds and a half. (C. H. I., 111, 19) and the latter asserts that 450 misqāls is an impossible weight for a precious stone (M. G., 108, f. n. 3). This may be true, but what is the guarantee that the stone in question was really a sapphire as modern mineralogists would understand the term? Despite the rapid strides of science, it is not easy even to-day to place a precious stone in its proper class and experts differ in their opinions even after subjecting it to chemical, mi croscopic, optical and other scientific tests. When the eye was the only criterion of the old lapidaries, how much more must have it been difficult and uncertain to judge a precious stone? The possibility, therefore, is that an ordinary stone might have been mistaken for a sapphire. Sir W. Haig says that it weighed $16\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. Since he cites no authority, it may be dismissed as a miscalculation. (See S. I-M. H., 148-49).

pure gold,* he proceeded towards Kanau, a great citadel of Hindustan, and appeared before its walls early in 1019 A. C. The descriptions of the grandeur of the city and of the splendour of its Court, as given by Hindu and Muslim chroniclers, stagger our belief. It contained seven forts and ten thousand temples. Its army consisted of eighty-thousand men in armour, thirty-thousand horsemen and five hundred thousand infantry Notwithstanding this overwhelming strength at his disposal, Rajyapal'st heart melted after a short and feeble resistance and he sought safety in flight. Mahmid entered the seven forts, and seized the wealth treasured there.

After the capture of Kanauj Mahmud marched to Munj, a strongly garrisoned fort, well-

^{*}Sir W Haig's estimate of the gold yielded by these idols is 548 lbs (C H I', ini, 19) This again is without authority 'Utbl informs us that it was 98,300 misqāls i. c., 1010 lbs Avondupois. (See S I.-H. H., 149).

[†] He is called Jai Chand by Sir W Haig (C H I, iii, 19). Professor Hodivala dismisses it as wrong' and calls him Rityapate He supports his contention by citing evidence from inscriptions etc (S I-M. H, 149) 'Utbi calls him Rityal'

[†] Elliot identified this place with Majhāwan, some miles south of Kānhpur of Cæwppor (B. & D. 11, 458). Dr. Vost was of opinion that it corresponded to Manauch, which is said to have been the old name of the modern town of Zafaribdd, situated near Janupur. U. R. A. S., 1905). His hypothesis is followed by Sir W. Haig in The Cambridge History of India (Vol. 111, D. 20). Dr. M. Nāzum differs from them and, while stating that Mahmüd

equipped with supplies, and laid siege to it. Within a fortnight the defenders were driven to such despair that they first slew their womenfolk and children and then rushed out into the field with swords in their hands and fell fighting in the field. From Munj Mahmūd marched to another fort, called Asai, which was defended by deep ditches and a dense jungle. The chief of the fort, Chandar Pāl Bhūr, took to flight at the approach of the invader who took possession of it without difficulty. After the occupation of Asai, Mahmūd marched westwards and entered a town called Sharwas without encountering opposition because its ruler, Chandar Rāi, had

attacked this and other forts on his way back to Ghaznin, adds that it was situated 14 miles north of Etawah (M G, 109)

¹This rite was known as Jauhar It was performed by the Rājpūts when thrown in critical circumstances with the object of preventing their women and children from falling into the hands of their enemies

[†] Elliot identified this fort with a town called Asnī, I0 miles north-east of Fatehpur (E & D, 11, 458) Dr Vost located it in the neighbourhood of Munj or Manaich (J R A S, 1905) Dr M Nāzim identifies it with Asai (Ghāt), six miles west of Etāwah (M G, 109)

[§] Elliot identified Sharwa with Sriswagarh on the Pahūj or with Seunra on the Ken. (E & D., 11, 459) Sir W Haig follows him (C H. I, 111, 20) Dr M Nāzim would have us believe that it corresponded to Sarawa, some thirteen miles due south of Meerut (M G 109).

left it to the mercy of the invader and gone into a forest with his army and treasure Mahmud pursued him thither, defeated him and dispossessed him of his wealth. This was the crowning exploit of a most laborious campaign, after which Mahmud returned to Ghaznin with enormous wealth and ja large number of captives.

The cowardly conduct of Rajyapala, the Raja of Kanaui, earned him the (13) Kanaut enmity of the neighbouring Raias and Kalınjar. who formed a league against him with Ganda,* the Chandela Raja of Kalinjar, as their head. The allied forces were put under the command of the Chandela crown-prince, Vidhyadhara, and sent against Rajyapal of Kanaui to punish him for his pusillanimity. Raivanal was killed in battle and probably his son. Trilochanpal,† was placed on the vacant throne. Flushed with this victory, Ganda entered into an alliance with Trilochanpal, son of Anandpal, and promised to help him in winning back his ancestral kingdom from Sultan Mahmud 'I On receipt of information about these events. Mahmud made up his mind to march against the Chandela prince and his

^{*} Some historians call him Nanda, but Ganda is the correct name.

 $[\]dagger$ He is said to have been a son of Rājyapāl (O H.1, 383).

I Z. A . 76, and K T . 1x, 218.

accomplices and to teach them a lesson. In the autumn of 1019 A. C. he left Ghaznīn with a firm determination to retaliate the assassination of his vassal, Rājyapāl, and to deal a death-blow to the league that had been formed against him and was now contemplating to overthrow the Ghaznawid power in the Punjab On hearing of his approach, Trilochanpal of Lahore proceeded south to join forces with his namesake of Kanauj. Mahmud pursued him posthaste and overtook him near the river Ruhut ' The Raja managed to cross the river and sent detachment to prevent the enemy from crossing it. Encouraged by their leader's promise of "a life of repose after that day of trouble", the Muslims plunged into the river and landed on the other side of it "without the loss of a single life." Marshalling his forces in battle array, Mahmud inflicted a sharp defeat on his opponents and obtained enormous booty, including many elephants. The Raja, though wounded in the battle, managed to escape and sought shelter with the Chandela Rāja of Kālinjar. The turn of Ganda therefore came next. He was awaiting the invader with a huge army, consisting of 36,000 horse, 145,000 foot and 640 elephants Ascending an eminence with a view to reconnoitre the position of the Hindu army, Mahmūd saw 'an imposing panorama of camps, pavilions and embankments and he regretted

¹ The river Rāmganga is known as Ruhut (Rāhib) in its lower courses (I G I, xxi, 175)

having ventured so far.' In this hour of distress and disappointment he prostrated himself on the ground and sought divine aid, which never failed him. In the evening the Muslims fought a successsful engagement with a detachment of the Raja and in the morning they were told that the Hindus had deserted the camp Stricken with panic, the Raja seems to have taken to flight in the guise of night. All the valuables, which the Hindus had left behind, were taken possession of and the Raia was pursued to some distance, but he managed to make good his escape, though many of his men were captured or killen. Thereafter, Mahmud marched back to Ghaznin. On the way 580 elephants, belonging to Ganda, happened to fall into his hands.*

The opposition of Trilochanpal, the Raja of Lahore, to the forces of Sultan Mahmud in the expedition against Kalinjar furnished a good ground for invading his kingdom. In 1021 A. C. Mahmud appeared in India again and inflicted a crushing defeat on Bhimpal who had succeeded his father, Trilochanpal, in the meantime. The Raja took shelter with the ruler of Ajmer and died there in 1026 A. C. †

^{*} Z A . 77

[†] T F, 1, 31 Dr M Nāzım (JI G, 96, n 1) does not seem to be justified in criticising Sir W Haig's statement that "he (Bhīmpil) fled and sought an asylum with the Chauhān rāja of Ajmer" (C H I, 11, 22) He 15, however, right in saying that Bhīmpil succeeded to the dimnished dominions of his father and died in 1026

With him the Hindūshāhiya Dynasty came to an end. The results of this expedition were more enduring than those of others. The Punjāb was cleared and annexed to the Ghaznawid Empire. A regular Amīr was entrusted with the government of the province with his head-quarters at Lāhore, and garrisons were stationed at important places.

Next year Mahmūd marched against Ganda who was still strong enough to defy (15) Gwalior the authority of the Sultan. He and Kālınjar first laid siege to and stormed the 'impregnable' fort of Gwalior; and after receiving the submission of its chief, called Arjan, who was a feudatory of Ganda, he proceeded towards Kalinjar, the stronghold of the Chandela Raja, and surrounded it on all sides, so that all approaches to the fort were closed. Finding himself in a perilous situation, Ganda purchased safety by offering submission without resistance. Having obtained enormous amount of wealth. Mahmud concluded a peace-treaty with the Raja and went back to Ghaznīn, laden with riches Ferishta and Nizām-ud-Dīn Ahmad say that, in order to please the Sultan, the Raja composed a flattering verse in Hindī and sent it to his overlord who, in return, rewarded him with a robe of honour and conferred upon him the

A C (M G, 95-96). In his presence, however insignificant his power might have been, a Muslim governor of the Punjab would not have been appointed

government of as many as fifteen fortresses.*

The crowning achievement of Sultan Mahmud was indeed the sack of Somnath in Kathuawar (1025-26 A C)†
The shrine of Somnath‡ was the most celebrated, the most opulent and the most revered on the Continent of India. "The wealth and importance of the shrine," says Sir W. Haig "far exceeded those of any temple which he had yet attacked. One thousand Brahmans daily attended the temple, three hundred and fifty of the unfortunate women whom the Hindüs dedicate nominally to the service of their gods and actually to the appetites of their priests danced continually before the idol, which was a huge langam or phallus. These priests and attendants

^{*} Both these authorities seem to have drawn upon Gardīzī (ZA, 80)

[†] Ibn-ul-Asir (KT, 1v, 241-42), Ibn Zafir (M G, 115), Gardizi (Z, A, 8682), Nizām-ud-Dia Ahmad (T A, 9) and Khwāndnīr (B & D 1v, 180) place this expedition in the year 1025-26 A C While translating the relevant passage of K T in B & D, (Vol 1, p 469), Elliot has carelessly recorded 414 A H for 416 A H This is an 'inadvertent error,' which has misled all those who have drawn upon B & D Fernshita has recorded 415 A H as the year of this expedition (T F, 11, 32), but his evidence cannot overweigh that of the original authorities quoted above Mark the mistake repeated by Sir W Haig (C H I, 1n, 23), M Elphinstone (H I, 334), and Smith (O H I, 1, 193), who have blindly followed Fernshita and Elliot (Ollowed Fernshita and Elliot (Ollowed Fernshita and Elliot (Ollowed Fernshita and Elliot).

I For its site etc , see M G , 209 ff

were supported from the endowments of the temple, which are said to have consisted of the revenues of 10,000 villages, the idol was washed daily with water brought from the Ganges, 750 miles distant, and the jewels of the temple were famed throughout the length and breadth of India."* The object of Mahmūd in undertaking this arduous expedition is thus expressed by Allāma Kāmil Ibn-ul-Asīr:—

"When Yamīn-ud-Daulah (Mahmūd) was gaining victories and demolishing temples in India, the Hindūs said that Somnāth (a Hindū god) was displeased with these idols and that if he had been satisfied with them, no one would have destroyed or injured them. When Yamīn-ud-Daulah heard this, he resolved upon making a campaign to destroy this idol, believing that when the Hindūs saw their prayers and imprecations to be false and futile they would embrace the faith "†

Allāma Ibn Khaldūn also assigns almost the same motive to the expedition against Somnāth. He says —

"Before this whenever Sultan Mahmud stormed a fort or destroyed an idol, Hindus would say that Somnath was annoyed with it and therefore allowed it to be destroyed, otherwise he would have killed Mahmud much earlier.

³ C H. I, m, 23

[†] K T, ix, 241

From some source Makmud received this information and with a view to extirpate idolatry, to prove the helplessness of man-made gods and to belie the claims of the Hindus, he mobilized his forces against Somnath."*

Ferishta also strikes the same note † Sir W. Haig follows these authorities and thus expresses Mahmüd's motive in *The Cambridge* History of India.—

"The Brahmans attached to this famous shrine boasted that their master Shiva, the moon-lord, was the most powerful of all the gods and that it was only owing to his displeasure with other gods that the invader had been permitted to plunder and pollute their shrines. This provocative vaunt suggested to Mahmud the destruction of the temple of Somnath as the readlest means to a wholesale conversion of idolaters." If

In other words, the object underlying the expection against Somnath was to disillusion the Hindus and thus bring them within the fold of Islam. How far Mahmud was moved by religious and how far by politico-economic motives in invading India time and again is a matter of controversy which has been dealt with

^{*} I K , II, x11, 245,

[†] T. F. 132

¹ C H I., 111, 23.

in a separate chapter. It may, however, be noted here that the motive assigned by the aforesaid historians to the Somnath expedition is unwarranted in-as-much as the object of the expedition, if it was really to effect a wholesale conversion of Hindus, was not achieved, nor did Mahmud try to achieve it even after a complete conquest of the place, though there is no doubt that this expedition, like others, was understood as a Jihād by the common people.

On the 18th of October, 1025 A. C., Mahmud started from Ghaznin and reached Multan on the 9th of the following November. There he took some rest and put his forces in order Leaving Multan on the 26th of the same month, he passed through the desert, stormed the strong fort of Lodorva,† that fell on his way, and reached Anhilwara about the end of December, 1025 A. C. At his approach Bhīmdeva, the Raja of Anhilwara, fled to the fort of Kandahat,‡ situated in the neighbourhood Mahmud took

E See Chapter IV infra

[†] M G, 218 † The situation of this fort, which is also written as Khandama, Khandabā, Kandana, Khandana, etc., has taxed the ingenuity of a number of scholars who have indentified it with Kanthkot in Vagad (East Cutch), Gandhavi Kāthiāwār coast, Gandhār to the north of the Dhad-Khandadhar to the north-east angle of Kāthiāw Kanbahat or Cambay, which bear some phonetic blance to it, but none except Kanbahat (Cambay) answers well to the description given of it by Ibn seems to be correct (See S I-M H, 187-88)

possession of the town and then resumed his march to Somnath. Defeating an army of 20,000 Hindus at Mundher (or Mudhera) and overrunning Delvada near Una on his way, he took his stand before the very gates of the famous shrine on the 6th of January, 1026 A. C.* He invested the fortress, which was situated on the seashore and washed by the waves. The commander of the fort took to flight and the garrison did not stir out to meet the invaders, believ-ing that their god, "the mighty Someshwar," would completely annihilate the "impious assa; lants." The Hindus, who had climbed the ramparts to see the besiegers, shouted to the Musalmans that their god had drawn them to that place in order to destroy them at one blow for the idols they had broken in Hindustan on the morning of the 7th of January, which was Friday, the fight began and before the time of Juma' prayer the defenders were overthrown by a deadly fusillade of arrows. The Musalmans escaladed the walls of the fort and mans escaladed the waits of the fort and proclaimed their victory by chanting a call for Juma' prayed. The Hindus then entered the temple, prayed fervently to the idol for their success and salled forth for fighting. They delivered a most desperate attack on their enemy and dislodged them from their newly occupied position. Next morning (Saturday) Mahmud renewed the attack with such vigour that the Hindus were driven back to the doors

^{*} For Mundher and Delvada, see M G, 215 ff

of the shrine, where a most terrible drama of bloodshed was enacted, so that 'few were left Meanwhile, the neighbouring princes hastened to the rescue of the shrine and on the morning of the following day Mahmud found his camp surrounded by hostile forces, which were constantly strengthened by fresh reinforcements An irretrievable disaster seemed to be in store for Musalmans and Mahmud's position was extremely critical As usual, the Sultan bowed down before Allah in all humility quite as fervently as the Hindus knelt before the archidol, invoking assistance. Then rising up and springing into his saddle, as if inspired, he cheered up his soldiers and exhorted them to action with the usual battle-cry of Allah o Akbar, The exhortation had the desired effect, for the Muslims made a most desperate attack, broke through the ranks of the Hindu army and threw it into confusion. This victory decided the fate of Somnath, for thereafter the panic-stricken garrison offered no resistance. Mahmud entered the temple to reap the fruits of his victory. Never perhaps were his labours more materially rewarded. The idol of Somnāth was broken and the temple was divested of its wealth After a stay of about fifteen days, Mahmūd left for Ghaznīn. The Rājas of Rājpūtāna, who had been taken unawares by Mahmūd's march through their country, were now advancing under

For the legend relating to the breaking of this idol by Mahmud, vide Chapter VI

Vırama or Vıryarama Deva* of Sambhar to block his passage. Avoiding conflict with them, as he did not wish to risk the spoils he had with him. he took a more westerly route and wished to reach Multan through the desert of Sind He marched northwards till he reached a shallow arm of the sea running between Cutch and Kathiawar. With the aid of native guides, who pointed out the passage to him, he led his forces across the channel. This heroic move on his part struck terror into the heart of the Raja of Anhilwara who had fled to the fort of Kandahat at the approach of the Muslim army The Raja again fled from the fortress in mean disguise, leaving it at the mercy of the invader who occupied it and captured a number of prisoners. After that Mahmud resumed his return-march, and proceeded across Cutch It was there that he was led astray by a Hindu devotee of Somnath who had offered to act as his guide. Extricating himself from this perilous situation, he safely crossed over to Sind and then marched to Mansura, whose rulert took to flight. While marching along the Indus towards Multan, Mahmud and his followers

^{*} Dr M Nāzim (M G, 119) calls him Parmadeva of Abū, which is a mistake (See S I-M H, 237) Sir W Haig (C H I, 111, 25) has cautiously omitted his name and merely stated that he was the Rāja of Sambhar Ferishta (T F, 1, 34) states that he was the Rāja of Ajmer, but Ajmer was not founded till then.

[†] Farrukhi calls him Khafif. He was a Carmathian (See II G. 120)

suffered much at the hands of the Jäts who inhabited that part of the country. It was with great difficulty that the Sultan reached Ghaznin on the 2nd of April, 1026 A. C.

"The expedition to Somnāth," says Dr M. Nāzim, "is one of the greatest feats of military adventure in the history of Islām. The news of this victory sent a wave of joy all over the Muslim world, and the Caliph heaped titles and honours on the Sultān, his sons and his brother." Like many other heroes, Sultān Mahmūd became transformed into an almost mythical figure and generations of enthusiastic authors surrounded his name with a huge literature of fanciful stories which were intended to glorify him as a king and a warrior. The idol of Somnāth itself perished but it immortalized the name of Sultān Mahmūd."

The last of Mahmud's Indian expeditions

omplimentary and congratulatory letters from Al-Qādir Billah, the Khalifa of Baghdād, conferring upon him the title of Kahf-ud-Daulah wal Islām and upon his sons, Mas'ūd and Amīr Muhammad, those of Shahāb-ud-Daulah wa Jamāl-ul-Millah and Jalāl-ud-Daulah wa Jamāl-ul-Millah respectively and upon his brother, Yūsuf, that of Asud-ud-Daulah wa Mu'ayyid-ul-Millah, as well as recognising the Sultān as the ruler of Khurāsān, Hindūr' n Sīstān, Nīmrūz and Khwārizm, and empowering hominate his successor

[†] For some of these stories, see Chapter VI A 'Awfi's Jawāmi-ul-Hikāyāt, Attār's Kulliyāt, Hadigah, etc

IM G, 120-21

was directed against the Jats* who had wantonly molested his army on its return from Somnath. It was undertaken in the spring of 1027 A, C

At the approach of the invader, the Jats took refuge in an island, enclosed by the smaller channels of the Indus, which could not be waded across and from where they could escape from one island to another in the hour of need Mahmud was quite on guard against this expediency and had therefore prepared a fleet of 1,400 boats, each of which was armed with three ironspikes-one in front and one on either side Each of these boats carried twenty men armed with bows, arrows, hand-grenades and naptha-balls. This fleet was launched on the Indus against the Jats, who too had made ample preparations and brought a flotilla of 4000+ boats, properly manned and equipped. When, however, the action began, it is stated, the boats of the lats were broken and capsized by the ironspikes with which the boats of their opponents were provided. The victors then landed on the islands, where the lats had kept their families for safety, and captured a large booty.

^{*} Albertin informs us that the Jats were the worshippers of linggs or phallus (Sachao, 11, 104) They were not the inhabitants of the Salt Range in the Punjab, as alleged by some. They were the Bhatis of Bhatier who had migrated to Sind (Burgess A S W I, 11, 193)

[†] According to another account, their number was 8000, which seems to be an exaggeration

¹ How this could be possible puts a strain on our credulity.

CHAPTER IV

SULTAN MAHMUD THE GREAT-III

MOTIVES AND RESULTS OF INDIAN INVASIONS

What were the aims and objects of Sultan Mahmud in leading so many expeditions to India and what were the results and effects of those expeditions? This is a question which has been asked and answered too often and while answering which historians have expressed different views, almost all of which are, however, based on a superficial study of Sultan Mahmud's life and character and of the history of his times. We shall deal first with his motives and then with the results of his invasions of India in order to show how far the motives are justified by the results.

As regards the motives, there are at present three distinctives chools of thought:

According to one school, Mahmud was a raider-in-chief who, in order to satisfy his greed for gold, "came, burnt, killed, plundered, captured and went." According to another school, he was "one of the greatest champions of Islām," whose principal aim in invading India was to extirpate idolatry and to propagate Islām at the point of the sword! The third school simply sidetracks by saying that "Mahmud's character was complex" and it is nothing short of a wild goose chase to try

to ascertain the inspiring motive. The task is not so difficult as it seems to be at first sight, but in order to arrive at correct conclusions it is necessary to dive deep into the history of his reign and to find out the factors that were directly responsible for his invasions of India For the sake of clarity and convenience these factors may be studied under the following heads, viz., (1) Political, (2) Economic, and (3) Religious.

Among the political factors that were responsible for Mahmūd's wars in India the following will be found to be the most conspicuous: The first was the non-fulfilment or rather deliberate violation of the terms of the peace-treaty solemnly concluded by Raja Jaipal of Lahore with Amir Subuktigin of Ghaznin after suffering a crushing defeat in a battle in which he himself was the 'aggressor'.* The second was the invasion of Ghaznin by Jaipal with a view to win back what Subuktigin bad conquered from him ?

^{*} In the words of Dr Ishwara Topa "The first campaign against India was undertaken in order to effect the recognition of political obligations and to enforce the political supremacy with a view to raising the status and prestige of the Ghaznavide power in the eyes of the Indian Raja." (Politics in Pre-Mughal Times, 33)

[†] See supra, pp 50-51 In view of Rāja Jaipāl's previous conduct and breach of faith, etc., I have absolutely no hesitation to believe the statement in the <u>Marjara ul-Ausāb</u>, in which he is shown as the aggressor Since

The third was the breach of faith on the part of Indian Rajas who, after entering into alliance with the Sultan, betrayed him. It will be remembered that at times Mahmud contracted friendly relations with Indian Rajas, binding them under political obligations' When these 'obligations' were cast to the corner or broken, he declared war against them and punished them for their betrayal. The fourth was the renouncing of allegiance to the Sultan and the withholding of tributes promised to him by Indian Rājas. When defeated, Indian Rājas owed allegiance to him and agreed to pay him tribute annually. When the promised tribute was withheld and allegiance renounced, Mahmud marched against them to punish them for their insubordination and to maintain his own political supremacy. The fifth was political betrayal in the form of help given to the enemies of the Sultan: Often Mahmud's Hindu allies colluded with his enemies and plotted to overthrow him in league with them This was no less responsible

his defeat by Subuktigin for the second time he must have been ancious to retrieve his reputation and to wipe off the stigma of repeated reverses and humiliation. The death of Amir Subuktigin supplied him with the long-sought-for opportunity and he must have invaded Ghaznin to achieve his object—to overthrow the Ghaznawid power and thus maintain his dignity among the Hindū Rājas and his own subjects His son and successor, Anandpāl, also enacted the same role soon after his accession. He formed a formidable confederacy for the invasion of Ghaznin and tried to do what his father could not. See supra, pp. 59 ff

for spurring him to take drastic actions against them and to pounce upon their States. The sixth was the molestation of the Sultan's Indian allies by their hostile neighbours. Whenever any Hinda Rajas turned against his allies and attacked them with a view to deprive them of their political power for the simple reason that they owed allegiance to the Ghaznavid Sultan, he had to come to their aid because regard for political obligations and respect for pledges given compelled him to do so. The seventh was the rebellion of his Indian vassals: Defiance of his authority in India by the Rajas of Indian States, who acknowledged his suzerainty, also led him to invade India for suppressing their rebellions and re-establishing his authority.

The economic factors were quite as strong and stimulating as political: The formation of attaining political power and retaining it is to evident to be dealt with in detail Suffice it to say that Mahmud understood the importance and appreciated the miraculous powers to wealth. He knew that it was the very source of political strength and stability and was therefore keen on possessing as much of it as possible. India's fabulous wealth must have stirred his sout and stimulated his ambitions and

^{*} These causes have been brought out at their places a Chapter III and here they are just referred to in order a facilitate the discussion

influenced his course of action. The unbroken series of victories won in India brought in their train a regular downpour of wealth which immensely augmented the Ghaznawid Treasury. The wealth thus acquired was used for the cultural as well as political advancement of the State, and this was mainly responsible for the glory that was Ghaznin and the might that was Mahmud. It had no mean share in establishing his authority in his kingdom and his superiority over the kings of the Islamic world in general and of the Indian world in particular. It enhanced the reputation of Ghaznin all over the world as a centre of power, as a source of light and as a seat of learning and culture. The wealth in his possession must have, moreover, served as a sure bait for the mercenaries who, unless and until they were given enough of it as a reward for their services, would not have accompanied him to his distant expeditions To finance his schemes successfully, he stood in need of money and India was a veritable El Dorado.

Before dealing with the religious factors which might have served as causes of the Ghaznawid invasions of India, it is necessary to know the tone of Muslim religious life in Mahmūd's times; for he was, after all, a product of his own environments and his actions must have been influenced by the ethical standards then in vogue. A

Hence the need and not the greed for gold lay at the root of his Indian invasions

reference, however brief, to the Quranic conception of State is quite apropos of the subject. The method of government contemplated by the Qur-an and recommended by the Prophet is theocracy, se, a system of social and political control founded on divine laws and sanctions. reflecting the will of God in all its forms and phases, motives and movements. The idea is to Islamize life in accordance with the laws of the Qur-an and to level down all differences and diversities of rank and race and to remove all inequalities, social as well as political. The ideal put before the Islamic State was to I slamize the people without injuring the religious susceptibilities of the Zimmis (non-Muslims). The Prophet of Islam founded a theoratic State and gave a conclusive proof of its practicability. Not long after him, however, reactions set in throughout the Islamic world and 'shifted the Islamic political ideal from its fulcrum to an ever-changing political gravitation'. So great in fact was the change that came over the Islamic world that even the sponsors and stalwarts of Islamic principles and practices lost respect for them and cared hitle to safeguard or promote the interests of Islam With the conquest of Persia and the flow of wealth the theocratic form of government made room for a secular State. The Shariyat ceased to influence politics. On the other hand, it was influenced by political considerations With the rise of the Ommayyades to power and the transfer of the seat of government to Damascus, the people without injuring the religious susceptithe change became more pronounced Amīr Muāwiya resorted to all sorts of means for his political aggrandizement. Under him the State was completely secularized and the interests of Islam were relegated to the background But for the unique sacrifice of Hussain made at the desert of Karbala, the fate of Islam would have been sealed. Musalmans-not Islam, as erroneously supposed by some,-had drifted afar from the high ideals set forth by Islam and translated into action by the Apostle. Under the cover of religion ambitious leaders easily advanced their political interests They were, as a matter of fact, makers. builders and founders of States and not preachers, propagators or defenders of the Faith, though they often posed to be and easily passed for such persons. Their acts may perhaps be justified politically, but not Islamically. Mahmud was the product of his environments. Quite in keeping with the spirit of the age, he also advanced his political interests under the cloak of religion. † 'Utbī informs us that soon after

See T T, vi, 184, I K., II, iv, v, Usad-al-Ghaba by Ibn Asīr Jazrī, iii, 299, 401, Istiab by Ibn Abdul-Barr, i, 66, 154, Swāiq-i-Muhriqa, 56, 135, Islām under the Arabs by Osborn, and A Short History of the Saracens by Amīr 'Alī, 95

[†] Clever leaders too often hired the services of corrupt *Ulamā* who turned and twisted the meaning of some verses of the Holy *Qur-ān* and interpreted them so as to serve their ends, and to those who were always out to find or forge moral and religious support for their

his recognition as an independent ruler by the Khalifa of Baghdad, Mahmud made it obligatory on himself to invade India every year. Modern writers have put a new interpretation on this statement and tried to ascribe religious motivation to what were admittedly political exploits. Their interpretation is not supported or substantiated by historical evidence The pledge given to the Khalifa was not the only 'lestmotsf' in his invasions of India It would perhaps be more proper to say that underlying the pledge were political motives and the cries of 'holy wars' etc. were raised to stir up the soldiers to action and to ensure further recruitments. The resolution was made with a view "to please the Khalifa with whom he wished to cultivate most cordial and loval relations in order to cover the illegitimate revolutionary origin of his dynasty, which was still fresh in the memory of the men which was still tream in the memory of the men of time he maintained the most loyal relations with the spiritual head of Islam, the Khalif of Baghdad, Alkadar (881-422 A H), who had clad the usurpation of his family with the mantle of legitimacy; and in order to please him, he hunted down the heretics in his realm in Khurasan and in Multan, impaling or stoning

patrons, such veises of the sacred text as "Obey Allah, obey the Aposile and obey those in authority from among your" (S 11, V 59) and "Do Irhãa'd agames the unbelievers" (S 11, V 73) were full of possibilities of ingenious interpretations. They fully exploited these verses for gaining their ends (See my book on Some Cultural Assects of Muslim Rule un India 2, Do 13, 16 18)

them. He tried to rid the Khalif of the real or suspected votaries of his opponent, the Anti-Khalif in Egypt, the famous Hakim " Politically, the Khilafat had become bankrupt and the Khalifa an almost nonentity, but the institution still commanded the respect of the Muslim world and the Khalifa was still 'a useful ally for a warrior who was burning with the desire for expansion' Political considerations and not religious sentiments were at the root of Mahmud's loyalty to the Khalifa. He obeyed the Khalifa and persecuted the Carmathians and other non-Sunnis, against whom the latter had declared a war, because he wished to win through him the good-will of the Muslim world for strengthening the foundations of his kingdom. In appreciation of his services, the Khalifa heaped upon him and his sons honours and titles which immensely enhanced his prestige in the Muslim world. Gradually, however, as his might and means increased and his name was surrounded by a halo of glory, even this outward respect for the moribund institution was grudged. We hear of at least three great ruptures in his relations with the Khalifa when he decided to shake off the supremacy of that nominal power—

Sachao's Alberuni Also see M G, 160-61.

[†] According to Dr VI Nāzim, "The Sultān became less obsequious towards him (Khalīfa) and sometimes months passed before Baghdād was officially informed of his victories" (M G, 165) This change of attitude is evident from the letters addressed by him to the Khalīfa and preserved in the Tajārib, iii, 341-44.

for the first time when the Khalifa refused to give him Samarqand and he threatened him with the invasion of his capital (Baghdad) with one thousand elephants so as to lay it waste and carry its earth to his own capital (Ghaznīn) on their backs,* for the second time when Abū'Alī Hasan (Hasanak) received a robe of honour from al-Zāhu, the Fātımıd Khalīfa of Cairo. on his return from a pilgrimage to Mecca and the Khalifa of Baghdad sent a strongly worded to the Sultan, directing him to order the immediate execution of Hasanak on the charge of subscribing to the Carmathian creed,† and for the third time when he left his son. Mas'ud, at Raiy with instructions to conquer Isfahan and 'release the Caliph from the bondage of the Buwaihids' with a view 'to bring the Caliph under his sway, ‡ On the first occasion he disarmed the opposition of the Khalifa only by making profuse apologies and adopting a reverential attitude towards him. On the second occasion he appeared the Khalifa by sending Hasanak's robe of honour to Baghdad, where it was burnt to ashes in a public square. On the third occasion his death upset his plans and schemes From all that has been said it is clear that he had scant courtesy for the Khalifa, though he did not want to offend the power which had strengthened his position

^{*} T F, 1, 28, and T H, 1, 277

[†] T M, C11-212, K T, 1x, 239, and M G, 165

¹ T M. 83 and 359

morally and which, even in its hour of weakness, was strong enough to shake and shatter the moral foundations of his empire.

Now that we have acquainted ourselves with the currents and cross-currents of politico-religious history of Mahmūd's times, it has become easy for us to proceed with our inquiry into the motives of Mahmūd in leading so many expeditions against India. But before proceeding with the inquiry it will be proper to answer the following questions—

(1) Were Mahmud's invasions of India really Juliads? (2) Was propagation of Islam in India his chief aim? (3) Was extirpation of idolatry his main object? (4) Was territorial annexation the inspiring motive?

Were Indian In order to answer this question correctly, it is necessary to know what Jihāds? What Jihād really means. The word Jihād is a derivative, of which the root is Jahd or Juhd, which means power. exertion or struggle. The Qur-ānic conception of Jihād is contained in verse 20 of Sāra ix of the Qur-ān, which reads "Those who believe, and suffer exile and strive with might and main, in God's cause with their goods and their persons, have the highest rank in the sight of God:

See M G, 160-61

They are the people who will achieve (salvation). "*Allama Abdullah Yūsuf 'Alī has beautifully summ-du up the meaning of this verse in the following words. "Here is a good description of Jshād It may require flighting in God's cause, as a form of self-sacrifice But its essence consists in (1) a true and sincere Faith, which so fixes its gaze on God, that all selfish and worldly motives seem paltry and fade away, and (2) an earnest and ceaseless activity, involving the sacrifice (if need be) of life, person or property, in the service of God. Mere brutal flighting is opposed to the whole spirit of Jshād, while the sincere scholar's pen or preacher's voice or wealthy man's contribution may be the most valuable forms of

^{*} This is what the *Qur-ān* enjoins Hostile critico of Islām have taken some stray verses from the *Qur-ān* and forced on them interpretations which the text and the trend of the text do not at all bear For instance, the so-called *Sirut-in-Sarif* or "the Strat of the Sword" is taken out from the text and interpreted to mean wan against unbelef, and argued that Islâm enjoins the use of the sword for the spread of the faith. Now if this verse is read with the text that precedes it, the correct meaning becomes quite clear. It then means war against all Congiunther, it is ordered that war should cease as soon as the opponents are for peace. Why to enter into a peace before the opponents are done to death or converted to Islâm? This militates against the thoory of force and coaclusively proves that flighting is recommended in Islâm only for the preservation of peace. The correctness of this interpretation is warranted by the Qur-ānic injuctions "Let there be ho compulsion in religion", and "Commit no excesses..." and by the life of the Prophet and his

Qur-ān, Mahmūd's expeditions against India cannot be called Jihāds. From their very character it appears that they were secular exploits and not religious wars waged for the cause of Islam or in the service of God f Mahmūd's armies were composed of professional soldiers and mercenaries of various denominations and not Mujāhūds or holy warriors. War was the prevailing passion or rather the fashion of the day, and the spirit of the age, not the sanction of the Qur-ān, was behind them. Incidentally, it may be pointed out here that Mahmūd was not an Amīr as Islām would have it and his was not a State

attitude towards the Zimmis, which throw a flood of light on the real significance of Jihād In verse 73 of $S\bar{u}ra$ is the Brophet is ordered to "do Jihād against the unbelievers and the hypocrites" And what were the weapons employed by him for that Jihād—kindness, generosity, forgiveness, charity, peace, respect and what not History teems with instances to illustrate this point and they drive us to the conclusion that Jihād means anything but bloodshed for the spread of the faith See Al-Qur-ān, 11, 190-93, 216-17, 243-51, 256, 10, 74-76, 84, 170, viii, 39, 65, 12, 5, 6, 12, 13, 16, 20, 29, 73, 123, viii, 39, 41, and vivii, 4, 20

The Holy Qur-an (translated by A Y. 'Ali), p 444, note 1270

[†] It may be noted here that Islāmic wars are always defensive and in the service of God Islām is always at war against Evil, but as a religion of peace it recommends peaceful methods for fighting it out. The use of the sword is permitted in exceptional circumstances, e.g., when the life and liberty of Muslims and their honour and religion are in danger.

contemplated by the Our-as. He was an absolute monarch and his government was far from theocracy. Before launching a campaign against idolatry or Juhad against the infidels, he ought to have Islamized his own State and acted in accordance with the principles of Islam in the matter of succession to the throne and other important affairs, if he was a true and sincere champion of Islam, as he is supposed to have been.

Take a good Muslim, who is always expected to be an active missionary of his religion, Mahmad might have felt delighted in the spread of his faith, but that does not seem to have been the only object underlying his Indian expeditions. He was more of a conqueror than a fanatical propagandist, or a pious missionary. To say that he invaded India time and again for the spread of his religion is historically wrong and psychologically untrue. In the first place, there is no scrap of evidence in the contemporary chronicles to show that he ever wow converts, whether by force or by peaceful means.* We do come across one of teachers and preachers for the instruction of new converts and Hindus in the rudiments of Islam.†

^{*} It is a different thing if a Hindu Rāja and his followers embraced Islām to escape defeat and destruction. † Z. A., 72 and 78-79.

the dictates of his conscience or out of political motives—, for he had to please and pacify those whom he had brought to India on the pretext of Juliads or 'holy wars'—, may remain a matter of moot; but it is abundantly clear that nothing useful was accomplished by him so far as the spread of Islam in India was concerned "Some rājas are said to have embraced Islām," says Dr. M. Nāzim, "but they did so most probably as a political shift to escape the fury of the conqueror and returned to their faith as soon as he had turned his back on them." This was obviously because the Hindus were not yet told and taught what Islam was and what it stood for. "The period of Sultan Mahmud," says the same scholar, "was essentially a period. of conquest" and "the time was not yet ripe for missionary work which required settled government of The policy of conquest and consolidation, it may be observed, was not followed and no attempt was made to establish a settled government in India; otherwise one pro-vince, permanently occupied, would have done far more for conversion than all his invasions together. The whole of Mahmud's time in India was spent in waging wars and amassing wealth and he had little leisure to devote to the sacred cause Consequently, he is not entitled to the 'credit' which he has received from his misinformed admirers for the alleged propagation of

^{*} M. G, 162

i Ibid, 162

Islam in India.* Secondly, Islam was not presented to the Hindus in the manner prescribed by the Prophet. In matters of faith it is the method of presentation that matters much and no religion can score success, such as Islam has done, if it is conveyed through the agency of wars and bloodshed † The Prophet of Islam did not

^{*} Ignorant fanatics who extol Mahmud for propagating Isläm in Indua at the point of the sword, which he never did, do him more harm than good and indirectly bring discredit to Isläm which enjoins universal toleration and positively forbids the use of force in effecting conversions.

[†] This point requires some elucidation Propagation of Ielam in India was not the inspiring motive of Mahmud's invasions of India, but there is absolutely no doubt that his Indian expeditions were given out to be doubt that his indian expeditions were given out to be and understood as 'Jihāda' or hol) wars, undertaken for the extripation of idolatry and the propagation of Islam in India It is in this sense that Professor Muhammad Habib (S M G, 81) has remarked that "the career of the con-quering Ghaznavide created a burning hatred for the new faith in the Hindu mind" because it was presented "in the guise of plundering armies" Dr M. Nazim has misunderstood this remark and therefore criticised it In his opinion "The Hindus rejected Islam as their national religion because of the fundamental and irreconcilable differences between Islam and Hinduism". The learned Doctor has tried to substantiate his point by saving that "Islam, with its definite articles of faith, could not appeal to the average Hinds to whom religion had never meant any specified set of doctrines" He is sadly mistaken. In my opinion Islām is nothing if not natural and conducive to human welfare - sourtual as well as secular It was nothing if it failed to appeal to the down-trodden Hindus — Hindus who had been subjected to grave inequalities and who had become fed up with the lot assigned to them by their

preach his faith by waging wars and leading expeditions against the infidels. Mahmud, whose knowledge of Islamic theology was undisputed, cannot be said to have been ignorant of such injunctions of the Qur-an as "La ikraha fid din." (Let there be no compulsion in religion) His religious policy was based on toleration and "he is not said to have forced any Hindu to abjure his religion or to have put any person to death for the sake of conscience": Referring to his religious policy, M. Elphinstone tells us that "it is nowhere asserted that he ever-put

religion A large majority of the Hindus were in need of a shelter and no religion could provide a better shelter for them than Islām. Their minds were quite open to receive the truth. Presented in its proper form and propagated in the manner prescribed by the Prophet, Islām was sure to reap a rich harvest. The subsequent history of Islam in India bears eloquent testimony to this hard historical fact. The only difficulty in its way was the opposition of the Brahmans who had grown fat at the expense of low-caste Hindus, such as Shudras, because Islām—with its democratic principles of equality and brotherhood—would have dealt a death-blow to their supremacy, which they so jealously guarded. But with the majority of the Hindus in its favour, it was not difficult to overcome their opposition. The fundamental and irreconcilable differences between Islām and Hindusm," referred to by Dr. M. Nāzim, ought to have facilitated rather than retarded the work of conversion in India, for if Islām and Hindusm were alike, there was no need for change and conversion would have been out of question.

^{*} P P-M T, +5 "Though zealous for Islām," says Sir W. Haig, "he maintained a large body of Hindū troops, and there is no reason to believe that conversion was a condition of their service." (C H I., 111, 27)

a Hindu to death except in battle or in the storm of a fort," Under him the Hindus enjoyed perfect religious freedom They were entrusted with highly responsible posts, and religion was not a condition of their service. The names of Tilak, Rai Hindu, Hajrai and Soni stand out preeminently in the military history of Ghaznīn.† Mahmud was a conqueror and he drew no hard and fast lines between Hindus and Muslims in his schemes of conquest. Of his Indian expeditions at least two were led against the Muslims for much the same reasons as against the Hindu Rajas, and almost all his Central Asian expeditions were led against Muslims. "If he harassed the Hindurajas of India," says Dr. M. Nazim. "he did not spare the Muslim sovereigns of Iran and Transoxiana. The drama of plunder and bloodshed that was enacted in the sacred Ganges Doab was repeated with no less xirulence on the slopes of the Mount Damawand and the banks of the river Oxus. Religious considerations rarely weighed with a conqueror and the Sultan does not appear to have been influenced by them in his schemes of conquest"; His transactions with Hindu Rajas were guided entirely by policy, without reference to religion, and he cannot be blamed or praised for what he never did nor attempted to do. Was then, it may well be asked now, propagation of Islam his object in leading

^{*} H. L. 293.

[†] P. P-M. T.,

his expeditions against India? Emphatically not. Like other kings, who preceded and followed him, Mahmud did not concern himself with the work of conversion—that was left to saints and Savants like Sayyad 'Alī Hujverī and Muīn-ud-Dīn Chishtī—, for hīs own hands were too full of political pre-occupations to leave him leisure to turn his attention to that side. No honest historian can conceal the truth and no Muslim, acquainted with his faith, can justify Mahmūd's expeditions from religious point of view and call them Jihads. Far from enjoining or recommending, Islam-which means peace, which preaches peace and which stands for universal peace-, does not even countenance but positively forbids the use of force for the spread of the faith and no principle known to the Shariyat enjoins, re-commends, justifies or countenances systematic spoliation of temples and places of worship for the acquisition of wealth.

Mahmud launched no organized effort to destroy idolatry in India. He attacked shrines, raised temples to the ground and broke idols to pieces not because it was meritorious from religious

It may be noted here that in those times the Musalmans (or rather new converts to Islam) had become so fed up with idolatry and carried such a deep-seated prejudice against it that soon after their conversion they made it a point to destroy it root and branch. If, therefore, Mahmud broke idols at some places, it was most probably in order to please his followers. His expeditions were

point of view, but because they were fortified places, containing—treasures of India's fabulous wealth. No temples, other than those of the kind described above, were touched; and once, peace was concluded, everything was safe and toleration in the widest-sense of the word was granted to all and sundry. While referring to "the mundane motives" of Mahmud's Indian invasions, Dr. Ishwara Topa says: "It may also be observed, that the temples of India which Mahmud raded were storehouses of enormous and united wealth and also some of these were political centres. The temples were, in fact, broken during the campaigns for reasons other than religious, but in times of peace Mahmud never demolished a single temple.* If the destruction of temples and

understood as Jihāds (holy wars or wars against unbelief) and hence the historians of that age have also referred to them as such and, given full vent to their own religious vanity Mark the change in the conception of Jihād

O Politics in Pre-Blughal Times, pp 46-47 Dr M Naim's remarks in this connection are equally interesting He says "The critics who accuse the Sultan of wanton bloodshed and reckless spoliation of Flundu temples, forget that these so-called barbarines were committed in the course of legitimate warfare, when such acts are sanctioned by the practice of all the great conquerors of the world Spoils captured from a defeated enemy have always been considered the lawful property of the victorious army In India, however, wealth was accumulated, not only in the vaults of the temples which were consecrated to the savine of the conference of the armonic structure of the service of various detires. The consequence was that, while elsewhere the capture of the defeated monarch's reasury usually gratified the conqueror's lust for mammon,

the extinction of idolatry or the spread of Islam in India were his motive, he ought to have followed that policy in times of peace as well, first in his own country and then outside, and then there was no need to enter into treaties without achieving the object. We know it for certain that the Hindus enjoyed full toleration under Sultan Mahmud. Al-Ma'arri informs us that they were granted separate quarters in the Imperial Ghaznin and allowed to observe their religious ceremonies without any let or hindrance. In other words, they were quite free to blow their Sankh and to bow before their idols under the very nose of the Sultan.

Was conquest or territorial annexation his chief object? This too is far-fetched, Conquest or for he never contemplated an Indian empire. Perhaps, he knew that a Muslim empire in an alien country was then almost impossible; that it would involve a great waste of men and money if he tried to hold in subjection a race hostile in religion and language, customs and traditions, tastes and tempraments, habits and hobbies; and that it was beyond the range of practical politics to establish his sway in Central Asia as well as in India simultaneously. Nor does permanent annexation seem to have been his principal motive. The

in India temples were also ransacked to secure the piles of gold and precious stones in them." (M. G, 163).

^{2.} Risālat-ul-Ghufrān, p. 153.

annexation of a part of the Punjab and some other places such as Sind and Multan, which lay contiguous to the Ghaznawid Empire, proves rather than refutes his non-territorial designs. The Punjab was annexed, because with it as a base Mahmud could successfully attack the places beyond. His western campaigns, on the other hand, disclose a different policy—that of acquisition and annexation, conquest and consolidation. At times, when necessary, he himself, even when his health did not permit, supervised the expeditions undertaken against his enemies and tried to establish his sway in the newly conquered territories in the west, not so in the east

What it may then be asked, was the inspiring motive? The establishment of a Turko-Persian or Central Masian empire and nothing beyond that was the chief motive of Mahmud's Indian invasions, which were undertaken for the realization of that object. In the first place, they gave him the much-needed appellation of "holy warrior" and enhanced his presuge in the Muslim world; and secondity, they cemented his strength and constituted a great financial asset to his military resources. In other words, bis Indian expeditions were undertaken for political as well as economic purposes; * and in

^{*} Professor M. Habib is perfectly right in saying that
"Islam sanctioned neither the vandalism nor the plundering
motives of the invader," but I do not find it possible to

many respects they were justified, for in the first clash between the Hindus and the Musalmans in the reign of Subuktigin, the former were the aggressors and when defeated and reduced to submission they renounced allegiance, formed confederacies to stem the rising tide of the Ghaznawids and fought against Mahmud

Sultan Mahmud invaded India time and again and conquered a number of Results of Almost the whole of Nor-Mahmūd's thern India felt the force of his invasions of India arms, but the results of his victories were far from permanent. The one permanent result of his seventeen successful invasions of India was that only a few of the places he had conquered there, were permanently annexed to the Empire of Ghaznīn, for after his death only a portion of the Punjab, Sind and some parts of the adjoining provinces, such as Multan, acknowledged his suzerainty. Elsewhere in India, the results of his expeditions and of a series of

agree with him when he says that Mahmūd's attacks on India were "un-called for" and that "the Hindu princes had done Mahmūd and his subjects no harm" (S M G, 79) See supra, pp 85 ff, where I have made it abundantly clear that the Hindūs were the aggressors and that they themselves were responsible for exciting the hostilities of the Ghaznawids The Ghaznawids paid them in their own coin with, of course, compound interest If they had not done so, the Hindūs would have enacted the role of conquerors and the fate of the Ghaznawids would have been sealed This is what my reading of the original sources has led me to

victories soon wore off. His rule did not take root in the places he conquered and the Rappus re-established their rule in Northern India, excepting the few places referred to above, and continued to rule for about two centuries more. Thus, while Amir Subuktigin had left Peshawar as an outpost of Ghaznin, his more celebrated son and successor, Sultan Mahmud, left the Punjab as an outpost of his far-fung Central Asian empire. This was the net-result of his seventeen expeditions of India so far as conquest or territorial annexations were concerned.

But the effects of Mahmūd's invasions of India were far more enduring than their results. Politically—These expeditions paved the way for the establishment of a permanent Muslim empire in establishment of a permanent Muslim empire in India by finging open its gates to the subsequent Muslim invaders, by exposing the weaknesses of the Indian political and military systems and by establishing the superiority of the Musalmans over the Hindds in the art of war, discipline and devotion to duty. Economically—They were a heavy drain on India's age-long accumulated wealth. drain on India's age-long accumulated wealth. They made India much poorer and contributed vastly to the glory and grandeur that was Ghaznin. They were a great financial asset to Mahmdd's military programme, because they immeasurably augmented his resources and ensured his success by enabling him to finance his schemes of conquest without experiencing any difficulty. Culturally—They brought two great civilizations,

Islam and Hinduism-into contact and led to mutual intercourse between Hindus and Musalmans In the train of Muslim warriors and warlords came Muslim saints and savants who permeated the ranks of Indian society, propagated Islam in India and won a number of converts In a land of idolaters, littered with temples, containing myriads of man-made gods and sounding with temple bells, mosques were founded and cries of La-ilaha-illallaho Muhammad-ur-Rasul-ullah (There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is His prophet) and Allah o Akbar (God is Great) began to sound and pronounce the unity of God But for the successful invasions of Sultan Mahmud it would have been well nigh impossible for the Muslim missionaries to settle down in India and carry on their work peacefully
portance from Islamic point of view lies in the
fact that they indirectly facilitated the future
progress of Islam in India. But this had nothing to do with the motives of Mahmud and we are not prepared to assign him any credit for what he never did nor aimed to do

CHAPTER V

SULTAN MAHMUD THE GREAT—IV

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES OF HIS REIGN

Great as a conqueror, fit to rank with the greatest conquerors of the world like Introductory Alexander the Great, Mahmud was equally great as a man of culture and refinement. His achievements in the arts of peace were on a par with his victories in the science of war and compare favourably with those of Cesar Augustus. An attempt is made in this chapter to bring out in brief the contributions he made to the cause of Islamic culture and civilization.

In order to appreciate his work, it is necessary to have an idea of his tastes, love of We have already said something about his education in connection with his early life. * In continua-

tion of that account it may be observed that he grew up to be a good scholar and a fine poet † Some of his poetical compositions are preserved by 'Awft in his Lubab-ul-Albab.‡ He was very fond of Islamic law and Tradition and his proficiency in these subjects was recognized even

^{*} See supra, pp 24-26

[†] M G , 156-57, and Lubāb-ul-Albāb, II, 24.

Lubāb-ul-Albāb, II, 24

by the most practised theologians of the day, Figh seems to have been his most favourite subject, for his name is intimately associated with the authorship of a standard work on the subject, called Tafrid-ul-First * Allama Ibn Khalkan informs us that Imam-ul-Haramain Abul Ma & It Abdul Mulk Jawan has recorded in his work entitled Maghis-ul-Khalq fi Ibhtis ar-ul-Haq that Mahmid was deeply interested in Ahadsih (Traditions); that Ulama, possessing a profound knowledge of the subject, used to meet at his Court and recite Ahadsih in his presence; and that he listened to them with great avidity and asked them to explain the points which be did not understand †

Himself a scholar and a poet and a true lover of learning, Mahmud was in a position to judge and appreciate literary merits, and hence he rose to be one of the greatest patrons of letters. The literary renaissance of Perisa found in him a most powerful exponent and his contributions to the development of Perisan literature assign him a high place in the literary history of Perisa. His patronage of Perisan literature has rarely

^{*} Some scholars have expressed doubts about Mahmüd's authorship of the book, but there is nothing improbable in it (See M G, 157 note).

[†] Tārikh-s-Ibn Khalkān (Eg ed.), 11, 86, and I. K , II,

I L H P. I. II. S. A. I. and S P. L

been surpassed.* Like many a Muslim king he loved the society of learned men and used to invite them to his Court from distant countries.† His bounty attracted a large number of scholars to Ghaznīn and made it a centre of light and learning for all Asia While the French Napo-leon used to import the choicest works of art and literature from the countries he conquered to add to the beauty and grandeur of Paris, the Ghazna-wid Napoleon fetched over to his beloved Ghaznīn the artists, scholars and poets in person from the regions he reduced to his sway in order to enhance the splendour of his famous Court He accorded a most warm welcome to learned refugees from all climes and countries and took care to carry out their wishes. Whenever he conquered a new town, he at once transported to his capital all the choicest works of art and literature obtained from its libraries_and museums and thus augmented the wealth of art and literature al-/ ready accumulated there I The celebrated author of the Tarikh-s-Guzidah informs us that he spent a sum of not less than 400,000 dinars per year

^{*} Barthold's view (Turkestan, 289) that Mahmid's patronage of learning was due to an osteniatious desire to convert his Court into a cradle of culture and not to an innate love of learning is erroneous and ill-founded. Mahmid might have been influenced by this ulterior motive, but in view of the fact that he was himself a scholar, a poet and an author, it cannot be said that his love of learning was not grenuine

[†] T M, 232-33, 245 and 247.

I K T., 1x, 262

on the literary lumnaries of his realm.* Ferishtal would have us believe that no king had ever gathered more learned men at his Court than Mahmid.† M. Elphinstone says that "he showed so much munificence to individuals of eminence that his capital exhibited a greater assemblage of literary genius than any other monarch in Asia has ever been able to produce."? Dr. M. Nazim assures us that "his meanest rewards were calculated in thousands of aimars, and the later generations of poets have cherished his meniory as a giver of elephant-loads of gold and silver "§ This is enough to indicate the extent of Mahmid's literary interest and now we shall make a short reference to the progress of Persian language and literature under his patronage.

The Arab conquest of Persia was frought with far-reaching consequences.

Renaissance of Persian With the transfer of the seat of Islamic Government to Baghdad,

shifted there, and Persian ideas and ideals began to flow fast into the ranks of Muslim society to change its outlook on life and letters. When the Arabs came into close contact with the Persians, they took an unusual fancy to the culture of the conquered and in their eager fascination for it.

^{*} T G, 395.

[†] T F, 1, 22

[‡] H I, 290

[§] M. G , 158

they forgot to pick and choose from Persian ideas: They assimilated them wholesale in almost every department of administration and in every sphere of social life Politically, they adopted the system of Persian government division and organization of the various departments of the State, their names and functions, the entire paraphernalia of Persian monarchy—the entire parapherana of revision monarchy—the personality of the Persian King, his seraglio, his slaves, his servants, State ceremonials and all other symbols of sovereignty Socially, they imbibed Persian ideas of social pleasures and pastinies and took over from the Persians their chase, chess and Chaugan (polo), drinking, music and songs, and even their national spring festival of Nauroz. Culturally, they made Persian their Court language and took almost all Persian ideas. including Ta'bir or the science of interpreting dreams Here we are chiefly concerned with the cultural side of this all-Embracing influence.* In a nut-shell, Persian language and literature received a new lease of life as a result of this change When, after the fall of the Abbasid Khilafat, the Samanids established their sway in Transoxiana and extended it to Turkistän, Isfahan and Khurasan, Persian superseded Arabic and became the language of the court and the country, the Tārīkh-s-Tabarī, a standard work on Islamic history, was translated into Persian from Arabic by the Vazir of one of the Samanids in 946 A.C and poets like

^{*} For some more details, see my book on "Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India, pp 6 ff.

Rudiki* began to use Persian as their medium of expression The Samand Kings were great patrons of Persian language and literature, and poetry in particular made much progress under their patronage The fall of their dynasty left the literary luminaries unremunerated and they flocked eagerly to Ghaznīn, the new home of light and learning and the new cradle of the sage and the scholar. There they were accorded a most warm welcome and there they found full scope for the display of their talents. It would be impossible, even if the author were competent, to do full justice to the subject within the scope of a small chapter.† Attention is therefore focussed on the achievements of some of the most important scholars and poets who flourished under the patronage of Sultan Mahmud, contributed vastly to Persian literary culture and immortalized the name of their Imperial patron.

The versatile Abu Rihan Muhammad bin
Ahmad, known to history as Alberuni (the foreigner), comes first
in order of importance. He was

^{*} He received 80,000 dishams from a Samanid Prince for a moral work (H I, 290 foot-note)

[†] Competent scholars hise Browns, Sinbil and Azela have written volumes on the subject and the more nequestive readers would find much to quench that there for landwidge with in their works entitled A Laterery History of Persia, Shr-ui-Ayem and Subhandan-1-Persi repetively. The Terkarat-ui-Shid-ua by Amir Daulat Shid also contains much useful information on the subject, cheffy on poetry.

decidedly the most shining star in the firmament of Mahmud's literary world. As a versatile genius, he was un-equalled, unapproached and unrivalled. At once an astronomer, philosopher, geographer, At once an astronomer, philosopher, geographer, mathematican, chronologist and a profound scholar of Sanskrit, Alberuni's mind was indeed "encyclopædic." He was brought from his native Khwarizm as a captive, thrown into prison and subsequently exiled into Hindustan on that life of travel and tour to which we owe the immortal Tahaia-ma-lsl-Hsnd, which is a veritable mine of information about the life and thought of contemporary India He travelled all over India, applied his vigorous intellect to the study of the language of the Hindus, their arts and sciences, their philosophy and literature, their customs and traditions, in short, the entire paraphernalia of their civilization, and embodied his observations in a book which is a great asset to the study of Hindu history and an indispensable source of informa-The philosophic and scientific spirit that animates Alberuni in the laborious and sympathetic treatment of his subject on an alien culture is a complete contrast to the pride and prejudice of the narrow-minded scholars of the West and serves as an imperishable index to the intellectual character of Islam and the catholicity of Muslim mind. In return for his knowledge of their customs and traditions, their thoughts and ideas, he communicated to the people of India the wisdom of the Baghdadian school.* His

^{*} The Spirit of Islam, Amir 'Ali, 380, O. H. I , 194.

work on astronomy, called Al-ganun-al-Mas'ndi or "the Canon Masudscus" after the name of his Imperial patron, Sultan Mas'nd, is a milestone of literary research and a monument to his memory. His Tahaia-ma-lsl-Hind,* which amply manifests the extent to which the Muslim scholars had turned the treasures of Greek lore to fruitful purposes, is an embodiment of well-digested erudition and untiring industry. His another great work, which deserves specific mention, is the Asar ul-Baqsya or "the Vestiges of the Past" † He also translated into Arabic the Sanskrit work entitled Karanātilaka by Vija yananda, son of Jayananda, of Benares, and renamed it Ghurrat-us-Zijat. Besides these master pieces of literature, he wrote many other books on different subjects, such as astronomy, mathematics, geography, physics and chemistry.

Abu Nasr Muhammad birs Muhammad al Jabbār al-'Utbī t was a distinguished historian and penman attached to the Court of Sultān Mahmād He wrote a history of the reign of his Imperial

^{*} This work has been translated into English by Dr E C Sachau under the title "Alberjar's India" Dr eorganal title of the work is Takaja-nad-hi-Hind and tartihi-liftud or Enrikhi-Hind-as wrongly given in some books, e g, E & D, p 1, and Encyclopadia of Islâm. 1, 726

[†] This work also is translated by Dr E C Sachau under the title 'The Chronology of Ancient Nations'

I For his life and work, see al- Utbi in Ency of Islam

patron, entitled Kitab-ul-Yaminis or Tarikh-s-Yaminis which, though deficient in dates and details, is still an indispensable authority on the life and work of Sultan Mahmud From literary point of view it is very ornate and the author seems to have concentrated more on the beauty of style and diction than on historical data and dates of important events

Among others who deserve specific mention in this hurried survey were AlFarabi, the famous philosopher who was considered 'a second Aristotle' by the Arabs of his day and honoured and prized by Mahmud the more since the refusal of his precursor, Abu 'Ali Sina (Avicenna)* who was 'undoubtedly one of the greatest thinkers and physicians the world has produced,' to join his Court; Abdul Malik bin Muhammad bin Ismail as-Salabi, the learned author of a metrical history of Iran from the earliest times to the reign of Sultan Mahmud, called Kitab fi Ghurar-r-Akhibar-Multik-ul-Furs; Abul Fazi Buladi,'t the

^{*} On his refusal to accept Mahmud's invitation, he was hunted down from place to place till at last he found a safe asylum with one of the Buwaihid rulers of Raiy, who was a great patron of Persian literature ($L\ P\ P$, 1, 96 fi)

[†] Originally this work covered four volumes Of them, only the first two have survived and the other two have disappeared The two that have survived deal with the pre-Islamic period and the Prophet Muhammad

I For his life and work, see Ency. of Islam, 1, 592.

reputed author of the Maganati-Abin Nasri-Mushkans,* the Magalladati* and a collection of important diplomatic correspondence of Sultan Mas'nd and probably of Mahmūd as well, called Emat-ul-Kuttābi,* Mahmūd-al-Warrāq, the author of a universal history ending with the year 1018 A. C., § and Hilal bin Muhassin bin Ibrāhim as-Sabj, the author of the Zail Tajārib-ul-Umann, containing in detail the letters of victory sent by the Sultan to the Khalfa of Bashāda.

^{*} This work, now no longer extant, contained much useful information on the reign of Sulfan Mahmud, as sevident from the extracts preserved in the Jawāmi-ul-Hikāyāt and Asār-ul-Wusarā

[†] This was a monumental work, covering as many as 30 volunes It was a most comprehensive history of the Yamini Dynasty (Sultan Mahmid and his successors), beginning from the year 1018 A C, and coming down to 1068 A.C. Only the second half of the 6th volume and volumes 7-9 and a part of the 10th volume, dealing with the reign of Sultan Mas'ud, are preserved and the rest lost Several parts of this work were known after the names and titles of the Ghaznawid rulers For instance, the part dealing with the reign of Mahmid was named Tärkha-Yamini is after his title (Yamin-ud-Daulah) and that dealing with the reign of Mas'dd was called Tärkha-Mas'sud at the sing to fine 1 the Tärkha-Yamini is a most valuable work and its importance lies in the fact that it was based on original Stan paners and a diary which its author used to keen

This work too has been lost (II, G., 2).

⁸ T. M , 317 Also see M. G , 3

[&]quot;A part of this chronicle, covering an account of three years (390-2 A H), has survived It has been published by Professor D S. Margoliouth in the third volume of the Tajārib-ul-Umam of Abu Alī Ahmad bin Muhammad Miskawalb.

As many as four hundred poets, with 'Unsar' as the poet-laureate, were in consentant attendance at the Ghaznawid Court, which, as such, was renowned all over Asia.* Their official duty was to sing the praises of the Sulfan

who, with all the stinginess attributed to him,†
was exceedingly liberal in appreciating and rewarding the literary merits of these poets Ghazarir
Razī, a poet from Raiy, received 14,000 dirhams
for a qasīda (eulogium) which cheered up the
Sultan in the august assembly;‡ whereas the poetlaureate's mouth was three filled with pearls for
an unpremeduated dira' (fragment).

Among the Persian poets who flourished at Mahmud's Court under his liberal patronage and shed gleams on his glorious reign, the first place is assigned by almost unanimous consent to Firduansi, the immortal Homer of the East and the celebrated author of the Shahmamah, though his stay at the Imperial Court was very short! One of the most marvellous achievements of Persian literature and by far the grandest production of the age, this epic poem is still admired for the kindling sort that fires some passages, the

^{*} T. S., 44: and T. F. 1, 39

[†] See sufra, Chapter VI

I T. S. 33; and T F. 1, 39

[§] C M, 63, and T. S, 33.

[¶] Vide infra, pp 130 ff.

delicacy and tenderness that characterize others and the Homeric simplicity that pervades most of it. The most striking feature of the book was the absence of Arabic words and phrases, but it has undergone so many changes and suffered so much in diction that it is now conspicuous for the absence of this feature. The constructive genius of Firdausi achieved victories far more enduring than those of his master. The Ghaznawid Empire built by the latter crumbled to dust a decade after his death, but the Shalmamah, the crowning achievement of Firdausi, will live for ever as a monument to his memory.

'Unsari,* the scientist, philosopher, linguist and, with the possible exception of Firdausi, the greatest genus of the age, next engages our attention.

He may be mentioned as the best instance of a man raised to honour and affluence for literary merits alone. His extemporaneous effusions, his odes and encomiums, his voluptuous metaphors and, above all, his pure and powerful diction, exquisitely polished and extremely charming, assign him a place second only to that of Firdausi in the history of Persian poetry. He versified the victories and conquests of Sultan Mahmud, and this part of his work is very useful for historical purposes. In recognition of his services and in appreciation of his merits, he was

^{*} His full name was Hasan bin Ahmad.

honoured with the title of Malak-usik-Shu'ara (poet-laureate) and entrusted with the work of looking through the poetical compositions of all the accomplished poets of the kingdom before being submitted to the Sultan. This enhanced his prestige and influence and also raised him to honour and title. He left behind a diwan of about 80,000 verses.*

Among other poets who flocked to Ghaznin and flourished at the Imperial Court, the most distinguished were <u>Dagfor</u>, who had first undertaken the stupendous task of writing the Shahnamah and had composed more or less 1,000 verses, <u>Ghazari Razi</u>, to whom a reference has already been made, <u>Asadi Tosi</u>, the honoured teacher of Firdausi, <u>Who is said</u> to have completed the Shahnamah by contributing as many as 4,000 verses, 'Asadi Marvi, Farrukhi Tirmizland Mindchihr Balkhi †

The preceding account, though exceptionally brief and perfunctory, is, however, enough to convey the idea that the age of Sultan Mahmūd was an age of literary efflorescence when poetry in particular progressed by leaps and bounds. Some of the poets attached to the Ghaznawid Court, especially those referred to above, were renowned all

^{*} Vide T S., Tabaa-i-Awwal

[†] For a detailed account of these and many other poets, see Ibid., L H P., 1 and n; T. F., 1, 38-39; S. P. L, T. S.; and S A, Vol. I.

over Asia and their presence at Ghazain, highly prized by the Sultān, was responsible for raising the reputation of the Imperial patron to the highest water-mark. It is true that mystic ideas had not yet gained a wide currency and the Ghazail had not yet been invented; and that the poetry, though brilliant, was not deep, yet the Ghaznawid poets possessed, in spite of their short-comings, a certain amount of freshness and candon which the succeeding generations of poets have frequently lacked.*

- As a man of culture and refinement, endowed with an intuitive love of learning and Intellectual an instinctive admiration for everyinstitutions thing that is beautiful in art and literature, Mahmud's magnanimity was not con-fined to literary sphere alone, but also found a fined to literary, sphere alone, but also found a most autable expression in the establishment of such intellectual institutions as maktabs and matrisatis, mosques and monasteries, museums and libraries. He founded the celebrated "Celestial Bride"—a mosque of matchless beauty and grandeur—, built of marble and granute, at his capital and furnished with gold and silver lamps, candelabras, precious ornaments and costiy carpets. This magnificent mosque was in that age "a wonder of the east"—a sobrequet which it richly deserved.† In the vicinity of this sacred structure the Sultan

^{*} See L H P, 1, 11, S. A, 1, and S. P. L.

[†] T F . t. 30: and H. I., 292.

established a big university and provided it with a vast library and a fine miseum. The library was stocked with numerous literary treasures in various languages and the miseum enriched with invaluable antiquities. The mosquewas surrounded by as many as 3,000 quarters, meant for the residence of teachers and students of the university. The teachers were paid regular salaries and the students were granted stipends and scholarships from the State funds and the income of the mosque and its endowments.*

Sultan Mahmad had a fine taste for architecture.

Architecture.

Money on the construction of magnificent monuments with a view to beautify. his beloved Ghazin. He imported distinguished architects from distant countries and employed them in giving a suitable expression to his architectural designs. His example was followed by his nobles who vied with one another and even emulated their king in erecting superbedifices. The result was that Ghazin became a nucleous of Islamic architecture in Central Asia. †

Among the public works of a vast and varied Public Works. description erected under the instructions of Sultan Mahmūd

^{*} Tarikh-1-Ion Khatkān, 11, 86, T F , 1, 30, and H. I, 230 † T. F., 1, 30, Indian as well as Persian architecture together — not one to the exclusion of the other —seems to have influenced Mahmüd's tastes for architecture. (Vyd. C. H. I. 11, 1574).

may be mentioned aqueducts, reservoirs, cisterns, porches, bridges and dams The most prominent of all these were a market at Balkh, a bridge over the Oxus and the Bandi-Sultan across the river Nawar, about eighteen miles north of Ghaznīn Of these only the last-named has survived and that too, though still in use, is much damaged *

Unfortunately, however, the Ghaznīn of these days is a complete contrast Ghaznīn Past to the Ghaznīn of the days of and Present Sultan Mahmad Once the historic capital of the great Ghaznawid Empire and the cradle of Islamic culture, it is now a collection of kacha houses, wearing the appearance of an ordinary Afghan town of limited population. So complete in fact seems to have been the spoliation to which it was subjected by 'Ala-ud-Din Hussain, surnamed Jahansos or "worldburner", and later vandals that nothing but the tombs of a few kings, two towers of victory -one built by Mahmud and the other by his son, Mas'tid-, and the shrines of saints and savants have survived to give us an idea not so much of the glory that was Ghaznīn as of the misfortunes that befell it.t

^{*} See Ghaznī in B B; H. I. E. A, 494-97, and M G, 166

[†] For some details on the architectural remains at Gaznin, see my article under the caption "Impressions of Ghaznin" in C & II G. Lahore, dated the lat September, 1938 Also see H. I. E. A., 494-97, C H I, m., 574-75, and E. B.

The tomb of Amir Subuktigin is situated
Tombs of Subuk on the Kabul-Ghaznin Road,
tigia, Mahmud,
A 3 other kings
has a small but beautiful dome
over it. Its epitaph is in Kufic characters.* The

over it. Its epitaph is in Kfific characters.* The Rausah* (tomb) of Sultan Mahmdd is further upon an elevation, having a modest garden around it † It is also built of white marble and is crowned with a newly constructed dome. Its epitaph is in Kfific script, invoking the mercy of God on the noblest Amir, the greatest king the Lord of Church and State, Abul Qasim Mahmdd bin Sabuktigin The outer gate, with a long corridor to the right, opening into the enclosure, seems to be a later addition The doors that formerly adorned the tomb are now to be seen in the Agra Fort, where they were removed by the British in 1842 A. C. Thev

^{*} This tomb is not mentioned by any modern writer Even Sir J. Marshall, Dr. J. Fergusson and Dr. M. Marm are silent about it. All that they have said about in their works are the tombs of Malmid and Mas'id and the two works of victory. None of the notabilise other than these finds place in any modern work known to me. Even the Encyclopeada Britainised does not go beyond referring to the above mentioned tombs and towers. The little that is mentioned about these too seems to be based on hear-say reports and is therefore full of mistakes, and maccuracies Compare it with my account in "Impressions of Glatzmin", which is based on personal observations, and mark the mistakes.

[†] The village that has sprung up round the tomb is known as Rauzah-i-Sultan.

are made of deodar wood, richly carved and containing beautiful inscriptions in Küfic script.* The tombs of three other kings, vis., Abdur Razzāq, Abdul Fateh and Ulūghbeg, are also situated in the same neighbourhood. They are crowned with a common dome. The names of the three kings are inscribed on a tile of white marble, which is fixed in a wall of the domed structure. Both the tombs and the dome are in a dilaundated state.†

^{*} Mas'ud had raised a beautiful mausoleum over this tomb and created was tendownents for its maintenance (T M1, 310). The tomb was held in such esteem by the people that even the 'world-incendary', 'Alf-ud-Din Hussan, did not include it in the wholesale destruction of Ghaznin ordered by him "His tomb has bowever, suffered from the ravages of his Muslim admirers, who for ages have resorted to it for the purpose of seeking divine grace and have carried away to their homes fragments of wood or handfuls of earth as keep-sakes, from the sacrilege of the savage hordes of Hulgig Khan, and in "more recent times, from the misguided enthusiasm of Lord Ellenborough, who, believing that its gates were those of the temple of Somméth, ordered them to be removed and brought back to India" (M G, 124, foot-note) "Once a grand edifice", the tomb became a cluster of "dilapidated runs" later on and has been repaired and renovated by the Afghin Government only recently. It is no longer in "dilapidated runs", as stated by Dr M N82m (M G, 167 and 124, f. n)

The legend that the gates of the tomb had been taken away by Mahmud from Somnāth 18 devoid of historical foundation and 18 fantastically absurd (HIEA, 495, fn).

[†] Some scholars have omitted these tombs and mentioned those of Mas'ūd and Ibrāhīm, which I could not trace

The two Towers of Victory, referred to above, stand on the Kabul-Ghaznin Two Towers Road, just in front of the Tomb of Victory of Subuktigin About six decades ago they were quite intact and at that time they were double-storied, the upper stories being round and the lower star-shaped, both together rising to a height of about 140 feet The upper stories have since fallen and tin-roofs and square-bases have been added-the former to protect the structures against ravages of rain and snow and the latter to prevent it from falling down. The steps leading to the tops are so badly broken as to form a winding steep slope, rendering ascent to the tops not only difficult but also dangerous. At present there are no inscriptions either inside or outside the are no inscriptions either inside or outside the towers. 'Those showing whom they were built by must have, therefore, been either on the upper stories which have fallen or at the bottoms to which new bases have been added. Both the Minars are identical in form, size and construction, and display exquisite designs in terra-cotta. They are fair prototypes of the Quib Minar of Delhi.*

even after persistent inquiries from local guides during my visit to Ghazain (1938) I have not yet been able to verify the identity of the said three kings.

^{*} Dr. M. Näzm seems to have based his account of these twe Towers of Victory and the Tomb of Sulfin Mahmud on the incomplete and inaccurate accounts of Dr. J. Fergusson and Sr. J. Marshall and hence repeated their errors in his scholarly monograph on Mahmud of Ghanna. (on 124.6 in and 167)

Quite close to the city is a cluster of tombs surrounded by orchards and vineshrines. The most prominent of

these tombs are those of Ramzān bin Yūsuf alias Shah Rūm, Majddd' alias Hakīm Sanāt and Khaḍan'j—all lying side by side under a common dome which is a later addition. Sa'di's famous poem in Arabic, extolling the virtues of Muhammad, the Prophet of Islām, is inscribed on the tomb of Sanāt't Among numerous other tombs that are interspersed in the valley may be mentioned those of Bahlol Dānā, Shams-ul-'Arifīn, Jam-i-Auliyā and Shaikh 'Attār. Most of the shrines that have survived have lost all marks of recognition and cannot be identified at this distant dare.8

^{*} The full name of this famous poet-philosopher was Abul Maid Majdud bin Adam al-Sanāi (T, S).

[்] His full name was Abul Fuzalā Afzal-ud-Dīn Khāgāmī (T. S).

The opening verses of this poem are — نام العلى ناما له - كشف إلك حتى بعماله حسدت حميم خصاله - صلح علية باله

[§] It may be noted here that the Afghan Government is deeply interested in the preservation of these sacred remains and relies of the past and its interest has found a most suitable expression in the repairs and renovation of architectural remains lying scattered all over Afghanistan.

CHAPTER VI

SULTAN MAHMUD THE GREAT-V

SOME LEGENDS ABOUT HIM

A number of anecdotes are afloat about Sultan Mahmūd's career and character. Introductory Few of them have yet been subjected to the rigours of criticism and the result is that they are freely quoted by competent scholars as well as by mediocres to illustrate certain traits of Mahmūd's character.* Of them, the four most famous legends that have gained a wide currency and given birth to a series of wild charges against Mahmūd are those about Firdaust, Aylz, the idol of Somnāth and the two Dūbishlims. Here it is proposed to take up these four legends, to scrutinize them at some length and to examine their sources, because they are responsible for giving a wide vogue to some curious notions about Mahmūd's character and work

^{*} Dr M. Názım has dealt with some of these stories and tried to expose their spuriousness in his learned mongraph on Nahmid of Chasna (pp 219 fl), but about Firdausi and Ayūz he has contented himself by drawing the attention of his reader to the articles of Professor M Khūn Shifāni in the "Urdi" (quarterly journal) about Mahmūdi's relations with Firdausi and characterizing Mahmūdi's "attachment" to Ayūz as based on lattier's "extraordinary devotion" and not on "good looks" despite the fact that both these stories have done much harm to the reputation of his hero.

We take the legend of Firdausi first It is to the effect that this famous poet Legend of was commissioned by Sultan Mah-Firdovel mud for writing the Shahnamah (Book of Kings) in poetry and promised a gold dinar for each verse composed; that when the great epic was completed the Sultan paid the poet in silver instead of the promised gold; that the poet refused to accept the baser metal, rethe poet refused to accept the baser metal, re-tred from the Imperial Court in disgust and composed a satire against his niggardly patron; that sometime later the Sultan repented of his cavil and sent more than the promised money to Firdaus; that the poet was no longer in the land of the living at that time; and that the poet had a daughter whom the money was offered but she refused to accept it Taking their cue from this story and the satire, some stupid scholars have gone even so far as to declare that Mahmud "was a bastard" and others, e g Sir W. Haig, have contented themselves with the not a regularly married wife", while all are

Professor M Habib has also written a book on Mahmud, but he has questly passed over these stories. In a foot-note (S,M,G,62) he has referred to the articles of Professor Shirāni. There is, thus, no work in English in which these stories have been subjected to a critical examination. I have, therefore, thought it proper to devote some space to them I may add here that I have not had the opportunity of reading Professor Shirāni's articles despite sounding all possible sources.

and breach of promise against him.

Almost all the available sources of this story are materially discrepant and 1 Information contradictory They differ in almost Contradictory. all details. Even the name, nativity, parentage, dates of birth and death of Firdaust as well as of commencement and completion of the Shahnamah by him, his age and education, his life and religious beliefs, nay the number of verses that the Shahnamah contained. the circumstances that surrounded Firdausi's access to the Imperial Court and presentation of the book as well as Mahmud's order to write that book and his perfidy and final repentance are differently given in different accounts * In the presence of such a confused mass of conflicting and contradictory evidence it is wholly unsafe to accept the story at its face value.

2 Sources, secondary & devoid of authority

Secondly, there is absolutely no reference to the story in the chronicles of the sarces.

lary oid of introduced the story in the chronicles of the story in the chronicles of the story in the story in

'Ainī, who was a contemporary of Sultan Mahmūd, says nothing about it. The celebrated author of the Allisind o Malahium Min Magala Magbal, another contemporary critic of Mahmūd, who was so unsparing and even unnecessarily

^{*} Vide M F, 34 ff; and L.H.P., 11, 129 ff.

extravagant in his criticism that he must have fully exploited the story and the satire only if they had been correct and current in his times, makes no mention of it. In short, the whole of the contemporary historical literature is silent on the subject and no writer of that age has even alluded to it. How, it may then be asked, did the story originate and gain currency subsequently? The story first appears in the Chahar Magala, where it is not based on any authority.* It is from this solitary source that the story must have been reproduced in the subsequent literature. It is necessary to note here that the book just referred to was written by Nizāmī al-'Arūzī, a court-poet of the Ghunds, about 150 years after the death of Sultan Mahmud and the probability is that it was concocted by him in order to please his patrons, the Ghurids, between whom and the Ghaznawids existed a bitter enmity; or if it was not his work, it might have been incorporated in his book later on, for the literature of that age and of the age that followed is not entirely unmixed and intact.† Again, the Chahar Maqala is full of historical mistakes and mis-statement of facts.‡

^{*} C M . 72. ff.

[†] The DiwBn-1-Hāfic, the Guissian and the Kulli; 3i-1-Shams Tabres are the instances in point. One reason for the changes in the books of those times, as apart from malicious intentions, is that literature suffered enormously during the timultimus times that followed the death of Mahmid Changes such as we have come across may have creet in while the books were rewritten

¹ Vide M F., 27, ff.

At present there are several MSS, of this book and they are all full of material discrepancies Even the authorship of the book is a subject of controversy*. It is therefore unsafe to place implicit reliance on what is stated in it and is not supported by other sources Yet again, the language and style of the story of 'Mahmud and Firdausi' are quite different from those of the other contents of the book (Chahār Maqāla), so much so that they cannot be attributed to one and the same author. Anyone acquainted with Persian language and literature will easily discover the difference and find that the language and style in which the story is written are far inferior to those of the book in general † Almost everywhere in the book Mahmud s name is mentioned with respect but not so in the story The absence of the story in the literature of a period no less than a century and a half also shows that it is a later fabrication. The story itself is not free from flaws. For instance. Nizāmī al-'Arūzī, the author of the Chahār Magāla, informs us that Firdausī was a man of means and lived a comfortable life, I while Firdausi himself complains of his poverty § At another place in the same story al-'Arūzī says

^{*} M F, 24

[†] Ibid , 32-3

I C M. 77

[§] The relevant verses are -

ودیگر که گنجم و فادار بیست - موادن رنم راکس حریدار بیست مرا د حل و حور ا در ادر ددے - رمانه مرا چون درادر ددے

that on his way back from Hindustan Mahmud was reminded of the fate of poor Firdausi, whose work had not been duly appreciated and who had left the Imperial Court in utter disappointment; that Mahmud asked one of his servants to remind him of it at Ghaznīn and he would do something for the poet; that on reaching Ghaznīn the Sultan was reminded of Firdausi, whereupon he sent indigo worth 60,000 dinars to the poet, and that the indigo was taken to him from one gate of the city while his corpse was being one gate of the city while his corpse was being taken to the graveyard from another.* Obviously this episode relates to the time of Firdausi's death, which took place in 411 A. H. One may therefore say that in the year 411 A. H. Mahmdd was coming back from Hindustan. But there is nothing to corroborate this and we know-for certain that Mahmud undertook no expedition against India in the year 411 A H In the same story Nizāmī al-'Arūzī says that he visited the Tomb of Firdausi in 510 A. H. but does not say that he was told anything about the story † According to his own statement. he visited Nishapur in 540 A H., s. c., thirty years after visiting Firdausi's Tomb, and re-ceived details of it from Amir Ma'zi ! This is incredible, for if the story had been correct or current in those days, the Mujawar (man in charge) of Firdausi's Tomb must have known it

^{*} C M . 81-82.

[†] Ibid , p 82

I Ibid . p. 81.

and told it to al-'Arūzī, as is the usual practice. Evidently the story was fabricated later on.

Thirdly it is a question whether the Shahnamah was undertaken by Firdausi at (3) Was Firthe instance of Sulran Mahmid. dausi appoint-According to Firdausi, the Shahnaed by Mahmüd mah was completed in 400 A H. (=1010 A C.) and it took him 30 or Shahuamah? 35 years to complete it.* From this we infer that the work was started in (400-30=) 370 A H (=880 A C.) or (400-35=) 365 A H. (=975 A C), s. e. it was started (388-370=) 18 years or (388-365=) 23 years before Mahmud's accession, which took place in 388 A H. The conclusion therefore is that Firdausi was not appointed by Mahmud for writing the Shahnamah. This conclusion is confirmed by other considerations also: Mahmūd's reign extended over 33 years and the composition of the Shahna-mah took 35 years. Therefore, the work was

started either 2 years before Mahmud's accession

^{*} The verses showing that the Shālināmah was completed in 400 A H are - رجعرت شده پنج بشگان دار - که گفترمن این دامله شهریار The verses showing that it was completed in 55 years are - نسی سال و پنج از سرائے سینم - چنین رنم برامید کنم چو نوان داردند کنم مرا - بند ما سی و پنج مرا The verses showing that it was completed in 30 years مرتم بردم بردم سال سی سی متحم ردنه کردم بدئین دارسی

or 2 years after his death. In one case it was not undertaken at Mahmiid's orders and in the other case it was not completed and presented to him during his lifetime. As the weight of evidence is in favour of the fact that the Shahnamah was presented at the Court of Mahmud, one cannot resist the alternate conclusion that it was undertaken by Firdausi on his own account and not at the request of Mahmud Assuming for the sake of argument that the Shahnamah was written under Mahmud's orders and assuming also that it was started from the very date of of his accession (388 A H.), it was then completed in (388+35=) 423 A. H. This would mean that it was completed (423-420=) 3 vears after Mahmud's death and (423-411=) 12 years or (423-417=)6 years after Firdausi's death, 411 A. H. and 417 A. H. being the two dates of his death mentioned in the Shahnamah This also is impossible, Again, there is a verse in the Shahnamah which means that the author, after completing the work, kept it with him for 20 years in order to find a suit-able patron for it * Adding this period of 20 years to that of 35 years, during which the work was completed, and subtracting the whole (20 + 35 = 55) from 400, the year when it was completed, we get (400-55=) 345 A H as the date of commencing it. In other words, the book was started (388-345 =)43 years before Mahmud's accession

^{*} The verse referred to above is * سحن رانگه داشتم سال نیست - که بینم سزا وار این گنم کیست

or (361-345=) 16 years before his birth, the years 388 A. H. and 361 A. H. being his dates of accession and birth respectively. If we accept the period spent in the writing of the Shahnamah as 30 years, then according to the above calculations, it was started 38 years before Mahmud's accession and 11 years before his birth. This too is absurd. And, if 389 A H * is accepted as the correct date of completion of the Shahmamah, then according to the above calculations, it was started in (389—50=)339 A H, s.e. (388—339=) 49 years before Mahmud's accession (388) or (361-339=) 22 years before his birth. Here the period of completion of the Shalmamal is taken to be 30 years If it is taken to be 35 years, then according to the above calculations, the writing of the Shahnamah was undertaken 43 years before Mahmud's accession and 17 years before his birth. This is no less absurd. Other dates of completion of the book are 371, 384. 391 A. H. and the periods during which it was completed are 6, 13, 15 and 25. The results will be more discouraging if the date of starting the Shahnamah is worked out on their basis according to the above calculations. Furthermore, Firdausi says that his age was about 80 in the year 400 A. H.† That is to say, he was born in (400-

^{*} This is according to the verse -

اكرسال أمد است-ديم سأل ويشتاد داسي صداست

80=) 320 A. H. He also states that he completed the Shahnamah in 371* A. H., that it took him 35 years to complete it, and that he kept it with himself for 20 years after completing it. Deducting from 871 a period of (35+20=)55 years we get (371-55=)318 A. H., as the date when the Shahnanah was started. In other words, the book was started (320-316=)4 years before his birth (320 A. H.). If we take 30 years as the time occupied in the writing of the Shahnamah, then according to the above calculations, he started writing the book in (371-50=) 321 A. H., s. e as soon as he was born. According to Firdausi himself, he was about 80 in 400 A.H. when the Shahnamah was completed. That is to say, he was 79 years old at that time. According to 'Allama Shibli, Firdausi did not live longer than four years after the completion of the Shahnāmah † His age may, therefore, be said to have been (79+4=) 83 years. According to a statement, Firdausi's arrival at the Imperial Court is proved to have been at the age of 85. 1 This would mean that Firdausi visited the Court 2 years after his death. A further corroboration of what is stated above is found in the verses of the Shahnamah which mean that Firdausi commenced the work at Tus where he was provided with the historical material for the work in the

^{*} M F.68

[†] S A . 1. 105

I M. F. 78

form of a book called Pastan-Namah* by an intimate friend of his, named Muhammad Lashkari. Again, while Firdausī was writing the Shahna-Again, while Birdausi was writing the Shahna-nali, he enjoyed the patronage of Abū Mansūr, Hussain bin Qatib and Arslan Khan, the governors of Tūs.† Why should he receive the patronage of these persons when he had already found a patron in Mahmud It is quite obvious that he had not yet seen Mahmud what to say of his appointment by him for writing the book Furthermore, the first edition of the book is said to have been completed in 389 A. H. and dedicated to a certain notable of Khalanjan (ın Isfahan), named Ahmad bin Muhammad bin Abi Bakr al-Isfahani I If the Shahnamah had been written at the request of Sultan Mahmud, it would not have been dedicated to Ahmad in 389 A H. before its presentation to Mahmud, Firdansi is stated to have visited Mahmud's Court

برشهرم پرنے مہردان دوست دود - تو کلگتی کرنا میں برنا کی پوستندید موا کرنے میں اس کا کی پوستندید کو موا کرنے کی موا مد - اگر پائے تو دو مقتلم می این ما کر مائی معلو می دو مقتلم می این مائی مائی کرنے دو بالا میں معلو می تو این مائی معلو می تو این مائی معلو می تو این مائی مائی تو این مائی معلو کی جوں اور دایس نام کرنے دو تو بالا موا کرنے کہ اور کا اس کرنے تو بالم دوست - اور کا اور کا اس کرنے تو بالم دوست - اور کا لی این معدود نخصت کرا میں موا کرنے کی دوست کی دوست کی دوست کی دوست - اور کا لی کرنے کی دوست کی دوست کی دوست کی دوست کی دوست - اور کرنے کی معدود نخصت کی در دوست و این کا میں کرنے کی دوست کی دوست کی دوست کی دوست کی دوست کرنے کی دوست کی دوست

^{*} The relevant verses are .

at the age of 85, s e., just before his death, then who worked at the Shahnamah for 30 or 35 years, if we suppose that it was undertaken at the instance of Mahmud, and how could it be presented at the Ghaznawid Court during the lifetime of Mahmud? Obviously there was no question of appointment and hence no question of promise, perfidy and repentance the author of the Chahar Magala, which is the first source of information, does not say that Mahmud had appointed Firdausi for writing the Shahnamih. Later writers, who have made further embellishments on the story, have made this addition without citing any authority and hence cannot be believed to have told the truth. When the Shahnamah was presented to Mahmud, he is said to have asked his courtiers what reward he should give to its author.* If Mahmud had appointed FirdausI to do that work and made a promise regarding his remuneration, he would not have put such a question to his cour-Moreover, Firdausi never referred to his appointment by Mahmud for writing the Shahnamah or to Mahmud's promise and perfidy when he explained his case to the ruler of Tabaristan and Amir Abul Muzaffar Nasr, the brother of Sultan Mahmud Finally, the task of writing the Shahnamah was first undertaken by Dagigi who is said to have composed as many as 1,000 verses before he left the task.† If this is correct, the

^{*} C M . 79

[†] T. F., 1, 39

story of Firdausi's appointment and Mahmūd's promise and perfidy falls to the ground.

Fourthiy, the Shahnamah has suffered a great deal and undergone many changes (4) Apocryphal since it was completed.* In the authorship of first place, the authorship of the the Shahnama. whole of the Shahnamah, as it has come down to us, cannot be attributed to Firdausi alone, for two other poets of distinction have contributed a goodly number of verses to it. According to the Tazkara-1-Haft Aglim and the Majma-ul-Fusahā, it contains 1,000 verses of Dagigit-a fact which Firdausi frankly admits and acknowledges the contribution with thanks I According to Ferishta, the Shahnamah was completed by Asadi Tusi who contributed 4,000 verses § The Atishkada-i-Azar also corroborates the above version in all details \ Professor Browne says that it was the second edition of the Shahnāmah which was presented at the Court of Mahmud | This is quite consistent with the testimony adduced above. If this is correct, the story of Mahmud's appointment of Firdausi, promise of

^{*} M F , 45 ff

[†] Ferishta also supports this (See T.F., 1, 62) † The verses embodying this fact are —

ر کستاسپ و از حاسب دیتے میزار - نگعت و سر آسک و وا روزگر پریونتم و درشتم رو سیاس - موا در دل آسور به سوبهراس \$ یونتم و درشتم رو سیاس - موا در دل آسور به سوبهراس

[¶] L H P., n, 141

M F, 44 ff , and 65 ff

a dinar for each verse and perfidy loses all force of reality and takes the form of fiction. Secondly, Firdausi's mastery of the Persian language was universally acknowledged and he always expressed himself in Persian without invoking the aid of the Arabic language; and hence the most important and distinctive feature of the Shahnamah was the absence of Arabic words But the existing MSS of the book are free from this convention. for they contain a number of Arabic words and phrases. At present there are many MSS. of the Shahnamah and, though the book is universally believed to contain 60,000 verses, no two of the existing MSS, contain the same number of verses. That written by Muhammad Khan Oazwini contains 42,000 verses, others have more than this and the one written in 810 A H . s e. 410 vears after the completion of the book and is perhaps the oldest of all that have survived, conpernaps in olders of an intare survived, com-tains as many as 87, 911 verses, of which 7,000 are in praise of Baghdad. Why so many verses in praise of Baghdad and not Ghaznin is an objection which, like many others, need not be dilated upon here. Suffice it to say here that the presence of so many MSS., containing different number of verses and different accounts, renders the authenticity as well as authorship of the book highly apocryphal. Again there are many historical mistakes in the Shahnamah as it has come down to us, e g., Parichehra is spoken of as the grand-daughter of Iraj, whereas in fact she was his daughter; the murderers of Dara are stated to have been two Wazīrs, named Nasar and Halosar, though in fact they were two soldiers of Hamadan.* There are a large number of discrepancies and even contradictions in all the the existing MSS, of the book,† Furthermore, there are serious literary and poetical defects which cannot escape the notice of anyone conversant with Persian language and literature I These are defects and drawbacks which cannot be attributed to such a competent poet and wellinformed scholar as Firdausi. Such. in short, is the extent of changes which the Shahnamah has undergone that Allama Lutf 'All Azar has good grounds to doubt if it still retains any verses of Firdaus at all. Under the circumstances, it is not safe to hold him responsible for the whole book as we have it or to say that it was written by him at the instance and under the patronage of Sultan Mahmud. And, whatever the merits and

^{*} Vide M F., 50

[†] Ibid . pp 56 ff. I Ibid . op 51-53

[§] It appears to me that the story of the famous Arabian poet, called Lubaid 'Amri, and Amir Muawiya was moulded into that of 'Mahmud and Firdausi' by some ingenious writer, with necessary changes, and fathered on Nizāmī al-Arūzi Khalifa 'Umar had granted a monthly allowance of 300 dirhāms to Lubaid 'Amrī for his poetic talents This monthly allowance was increased by 100 drihams by the succeeding Khalifas, 'Usman and 'Ali When Muawiya became Khalifa, he diminished the allowance, which the poet refused to accept Later, the Khalifa repented of his act, increased the allowance and sent the arrears to the poet. It is stated that the money reached the place of the poet, when his dead body was

short-comings of the present Shahnamah, there is no doubt that it is a book of poetry and cannot therefore be free from exaggeration, and we cannot arrive at correct conclusions as long as due allowance is not made for this element If Mahmud did not live up to his words on account of his miserliness, as alleged, why did he repent and send the promised amount with other presents to the poet after he had left the Imperial Court and composed a most trenchant satire on the Sultan? The satire would have enraged the Sultan and furnished a casus bells for weaking a vengeance on him. Far from repenting and rewarding him, Mahmud must have hunted him down and impaled him without compassion if he had in fact written that satire

Let us now turn to the satire and see if it was really written by Firdusi As apart from the cumulative evidence adduced above, there are other considerations that confirm our doubre, so much so that we cannot attribute its authorship to that poet, We learn from the Chahar Maqula, which is the only source drawn upon by later writers about the legend of 'Mahmud and Firdusis' and the 'satire' that originally the satire consisted of 100 verses and that all of them, evcept six, were destroyed by the King of Tabaristan with his

being carried to the graveyard. The deceased had a daughter, to whom the amount was given, but she refused to accept it (See translator's note in I K, II, λ_{II} , 268-69)

consent and that the original MS. was also consent and the original MS. Was also destroyed by Firdaust*. The exception of the six terses is not accounted for. How they escaped and why they too were not subjected to the same fate as that meted out to their fellows is a question which must always remain open to grave doubts With the march of time these six verses multiplied by giving birth to many six verses multiplied by giving birth to many more, so that at present they are over 200 Where have these 194 verses come from?† The Chahar Magala is the only source and there only six verses are given The rest are therefore later additions, without authority. Moreover, the surviving six verses referred to are such that they cannot be called a satire. At the most they purport to be a complaint which the author never meant to be offensive. They do not contain unbecoming statements. As against this the rest of the verses are full of indecent personal remarks, and contain incorrect and even contradictory statements ‡ Such lapses of scholarship as these cannot be expected from a genius of the calibre of Firdausi, who was universally acknowledged as Khudawand-s-Skhan (Master of Poetry) and Mahar-s-Tarkh (competent historian). At one place it is said: "If the father of the Shah (King) had been a Shah, he would

^{*} C M, 80-81, L. H. P, 11, 139 † It is a matter of speculation To me it appears that these verses were composed by different poets at the instance of some king or influential man in order to vilify Mahmud

¹ Vide M. F. 103 ff.

have put a crown on my head, and if his mother had been a Banu (lady of noble birth) he would have covered me with gold and silver up to my knees'.* Now who does not know that Mahmud was the son of Amir Subuktigin from his wife who was the daughter of no less a person than an Amīr of Zabulistan? Is it not a historical blunder or rather the height of absurdity to say that he was not the son of a king and a queen? Going further, the above statement is thus contradicted "The son of a concubine will do no good even if he be the son of a king" Here Mahmud is spoken of as the son of a concubine, which is too foolish a remark to comment upon, and is also admitted as the son of a Shahryar (king) as against the previous statement in which he is not † The satire also contains verses in praise of the Sultan, which shows that it was not the work of one man. It also contains a number of Arabic words, which is quite contrary to the practice of Firdausi who always used strictly Persian words and expressions. There are also in the saure idioms and expressions which were not in vogue in his times. Finally, the language and the style of the satire are far inferior to those employed by him in his Shahnamah. Evidently the satire. fathered on Firgausi, is not his work If he had

پستار راده دم آید نکار - اگرچه نود راده شهریار

in fact been the author of it, he would not have written verses at the mosque in praise of the Suitan and about his own bad buck, **

The sum and substance of the above discussion is that both the story and the satire are farse and frivulous, concocted with no other intention than to create an aversion against one of the greatest personalities of the world. Those who charge Mahmud of avarice and greed forget his munificence which was so widely and liberally enjoyed. The theory of niggardliness, based on the fantastically absurd legend of 'Firdauss and Mahmad" is fully negatived by the fact that he spent huge sums of money on the construction of public works. If he knew how to collect wealth, he also knew how to spend it Those who say that Firdausi- was a Shia' and it was for this reason that Mahmud deprived him of 'the promised reward' should know that Mahmud's patronage was enjoyed by all and sundry, irrespective of race or religion, that a king who appreciated merits from whatever source they emanated and rewarded them with

^{*} The verses referred to above are .-

حعسته درگهه معمود رایلی درناست چئونه دریا که لورز کنارا پندا نیست

چم عوطم بهاردم و اندر او ندیدم در گناه نحت س است این گناه دریا ندست

Note that in these verses Mahmud is referred to as 'Mahmud-i-Zabuli, because his mother was the daughter of an Amir of Zabulistan.

cavil cannot be said to have deprived Firdausi of his due on that score, and that the Sultan was quite favourably inclined towards the Shias and had given two daughters of his in marriage to two Shīa' Princes named Minūchihr bin Qābūs and 'Unsar-ul-Ma'ali Karkaus.* The mere mole out of which a huge mountain has been made is that Firdausi was charged with "Carmathian heresy" and imprisoned at the instigation of hostile courtiers who bore him bitter jealousy. At a time when there existed a bitter enmity between the Sultan and the Carmathians, when most of the leaders of the Carmathians were the residents of Tus, the native place of Firdausi, when Firdausi was found to have connections with the Dailamites, who had given protection to the Carmathians and when he had received a rich reward from Fakhr-ud-Daulah, the Dailamite, it was not difficult to substantiate the charge—a charge on which many had lost their lives When released at the request of friendly court-poets, Firdaus! went to Mahmud's brother for a recommendation, explained his position to him and said that he had suffered through the machinations of a lealous courtier who had instigated the Sultan against him before the latter had cast a glance at the contents of the book.†

^{*} M F . 36 ff. M G . 152

[†] This is evident from the following verses of the

چنین شہریارے کہ دحشقدہ ۔ یہ گیتی ر شا ہاں درحشدۂ دم اور ادور این داستانیا نگاہ ۔ ر دد کوے درسجب آحد گناہ

Why did Firdaust go to Mahmūd's brother for a recommendation when he had left the Court in disgust and composed such a satire as has come down to us? If he had composed the satire, how could he come back safely from a person none other than Sultān's own brother? Obviously, there was no question of appointment and reward for writing the Shalmamah.*

The story that can be reconstructed after reshuffling the conflicting and contradictory mass of evidence that has come down to us is that Firdausi wrote a major portion of the Shahnamah at his own sweet will and was in search of a patron; that with the help of the Governor of Tas he had access to the Court of Mahmud, that there he would have made a fortune if he had not fallen a victim to the jealousy of hostile courters; that he was charged with 'Carmathian

حسد درد دد گوے در کار می - تدم شد در شاته باز ار می ند اندیش را روے بیکی مناد - سعنہاے لیکر دم ند کود یاد

Al-'Artui, the author of the Chahār Magāla, who is responsible for the story of Firdausi, thus writes at one place "نظم إو (مردرسي) اكو سلطان محصود دانسته نودے بي

نا که آن آزاد مرد را معروم و مايوس مگداشتي "-(C M., 55)

Evidently al-Artizi does not charge Mahmud of avarice

^{*}Dr. M. Nazim is wrong in saying that "Firdausi composed a large portion of his immortal Schlindmah at his (Mahmd's) Court, and probably at his request, but his work did not receive proper recognition (M. G., 158) Vide Subra, pp. 130 ff

heresy' and imprisoned; that on his release he sought the recommendation of Mahmud's brother but failed in his object and died in disappointment in his home at Tus; and that he left the Shahnamah incomplete, which was completed by 'Asadi

While we are still about the story and the satire, it is necessary to make a short Charge of reference to the charge of 'bastardy' hastardy laid against Sultan Mahmud, But for the fact that European scholars are too apt to accept all that is against the Muslim Kings as correct and reject all that is in their favour as fiction founded on flattery and that the rigours of their criticism are one-sided, confined only to the bright side of the picture, stories and satires such as we have dealt with would have vanished instead as we have each with woold have valuations in stead of gaining such a wide currency. Accepting the story and the saure at their face value without subjecting them to a critical examination, they have not only charged Mahmud of stinginess but have also challenged his legitimacy by declaring him a bastard.* In his account of Sultan Mahmud, Sir W. Haig tries to exonerate the Sultan of the blame of bastardy and defends him at the cost of Islam by saying that "he (Mahmud) seems to have been the son of a concubine" and arguing that "by the law of Islam the son of a concubine or handmaiden is as legitimate as the son of a regularly married wife"† Here the

^{*} Brigg's Ferishta, 1, 29, foot-note † C. H I. 11, 27

learned writer betrays a superficial knowledge of the laws of Islām and Muslim history and an utter lack of critical perception. In the first place. Mahmūd was not the son of a concubine, but of a mother who was the daughter of an Amir of Zabulistān, regularly married to his father; * and secondly, according to the laws of Islām, the son of a concubine cannot be "as legitimate as the son of a regularly married wife," as our mis-informed firend would have us believe.

^{*} I have used the words "negularly married" because there is no evidence to the contrary There is no evidence to the contrary because there was nothing uncommon about the marriage of Mahmid's mother Had there been anything unusual about it, it must have been made much of by the enemies of the Sultan My conclusion is also confirmed by the fact that Mahmid was known as Mahmid-i-Zübul' after his mother who was the daughter of an Amir of Zübulistin, and if there had been any slur about her marriage his court-poets would never have called him "Mahmid-i-Zübul stin."

[†] Concubrage means sexual connection with a woman not holing the legal status of a wife or keeping a woman in the capacity of a wife without contracting Nikhih (regular marriage) with her. The practice was common in pre-Islamic Arabia and might have also been in vogue among some Muslims before the revelation of the verse making the marriage of male as well as female slaves compulsory. No master of a slave-girl could keep her as a concubine without violating the injunction embodied in the said verse. In the Holy Book 'ownership' is not recognized as validating or legalizing sexual intercourse. The only thing that legalizes sexual relationship is marriage duly performed. The conditions governing the marriage of a slave-girl are the same as those applicable in the case of a free

Another equally fantastic and absurd story is that relating to Mahmud and Avaz. This story has latterly provided a Mahmad and Avaz most popular theme for literary compositions in prose as well as poetry. It is said that Ayaz was a most handsome youth and hence an object of Mahmud's passionate love and veneration. Briefly stated, the story is as follows:
"The love which Sultan Mahmud cherished for Ayaz exceeded all limits, but there was no tinge of sensuality in it * One day, when wine was being served in a banquer, Mahmud drank beyond sobriety and lost his consciousness. In that state of drunkenness his eyes fell on Ayaz's interwoven curly locks, hanging down on his face, and, losing control over himself, he threw his arms round the boy's neck, but soon woke up and, in his zeal for piety, ordered Ayaz to cut down his locks and his orders were at once obeyed by

woman, with the addition that the consent of the master, in addition to that of the girl, must be obtained sevual intercourse with a slave-girl is lawful only when a regular Nikhh is contracted with her Thus the son of a concubine cannot be "as legitimate as that of a regularly married wife", a your missinformed friend would have us believe (See Al-Qur-An, xxx, 32)

^{*} Dr M. Nazim has apparently accepted the story as true but characterized Mahmidu's lose for Ayaz as true and based on the latter's "extraordinary devotion" and not "ins good looks" Here he has not used that critical acumen which he has so prominently displayed in other parts of his learned monograph on Mahmid He seems to have followed Allama Shibli and his followers (See M. G. 153).

the boy "*

The Chahar Magala is the oldest work in prose in which the story appears, and it is most probably from this solitary source that it has been reproduced by later historians and modern writers. † Nothing needs now be said about the merits of the book whose authenticity has been successfully challenged by competent scholars and whose defects have been exposed in the preceding pages. T Reading through the story, one cannot help being struck With the following points, viz., (1) that Mahmud was a drunkard whose parties were characterized by wine-drinking. (2) that he lost control over himself at the sight of Ayaz and fell a prey to carnal love inclining towards unnatural gratification of sexual appetite, and (3) that he gained control over himself in that state of drunkenness and, moved by piety, ordered Ayaz to cut down his locks as if they were responsible for the episode. In order to see how far the story is correct, it is necessary to examine these three points, two of which amount to very serious charges against Mahmad's moral character and the third is a ridicu-

^{*} This is a quotation from Allama Shibli's Shir-ul-'Agam I have reproduced the story in his words in order to show how the story has escaped critical examination and hence misled scholars of established repute

[†] C M, 61-64. The story also finds place in the Kulliyāt-i-Attār, but being written about a century after the Chahār Maṇāla, it is reasonable to suppose that it has borrowed it from the same source, i e, Chahār Maṇāla

¹ See subra. pp. 132 ff -

lous contradiction of facts. The first is a charge of drunkenness, which must be dismissed as faise in the presence of more reliable and weighty evidence pointing to Mahmud's piety." It is almost universally admitted that Mahmud was a most pious man who kept company with men of piety and learning and never induiged in mean pleasures prohibited by the Shariyat (Islamic law) Once it is admitted that Mahmud was a pious man and a staunch follower of his faith, it would be impossible to imagine that he was a habitual drunkard, as depicted in the story. The correctness of the second charge, which is a most heinous one, depends upon the correctness of the first charge. If the first charge falls, the second cannot stand. In the case of a drunkard second cannot stand. In the case of a drunkard and in a state of drunkenness, the animal in the man may come out and appear in all its makedness, but a man who never indulged in heentious debauchery—a man whose piety is admitted even by his hostile critics—cannot be accused of leaning to that weakness. Psychologically, subconscious qualities come into play in a state of drunkenness and the habits formed, good or bad, appear on the surface and cannot be concealed. But we have ample testimony about Mahmud's tharacter and habits, and in the presence of such strong evidence in his favour he cannot be said to have acted in the manner described in the story The most funny thing in the story is that its author, as also those who have followed

^{*} Vide infra, 166 ff.

him, speak highly of Mahmud's piety and at the same time accuse him of drunkenness and showing an inclination towards sodomy. How piety and drunkenness could go hand in hand in the case of Mahmud is not explained. This in itself is enough to discredit the story and prove its falsity The third is an amplification of this contradiction of facts. It is a mixture of opposites—piety and impiety, drunkenness and sob-riety.* How a man whose piety is admitted on all hands, even by the author of the story, could become improus at one and the same time. how in a state of drunkenness he could remain how in a state of drunkenness he could remain pous and how in his passion for piety he would like to punish the object of his 'true love' instead of reproaching and reforming himself are points which contradict each other and conclusively prove that the story is nothing but a fabrication and that its author was nothing but a fool. For, in the first place, it is impossible to remain pious when drunk and secondly it was not just or equitable on the part of Mahmūd, whose sense of justice is also universally admired, to order the entiting of Ayaz's looks which had order the cutting of Avaz's locks which had done no wrong. If there was anything wrong, should the story be true, it was Mahmud and not Ayaz who was responsible for it. In that case. Mahmud should have given up drinking, "the

^{*} How the author of the story, who was a Muslim, and his Muslim imitators, including 'Allama Shibli, were able to reconcile these opposites is not clear to me and I am at a loss to understand their conception of "piety" and 'true love'. (See C. M. 62).

mother of all evils", if at all he had been a drunhard, as denicted in the story, or he should have reproached and reformed himself. That would have been the proper course under those That Mahmud bked and even circumstances loved Ayaz is true enough, but the story as told in the Chahar Magala and repreduced in the Shir-ul-'Ajam and other books, is false on the face of it Dr. M. Nazim is right in saving that "the proverbial attachment of the Sultan to his handsome Turkoman slave Abu n-Naum Avar bin Uymag was due to the extraordinary devotion of Ayaz rather than to his good looks."* It appears that the existence of this attachment captured the fancy of poets and story-teliers who developed it into a love-romance and depicted it in lurid colours.

Another story that lacks historical foundation is that relating to the Idol of Somnath Briefly stated, it is to Somnath Briefly stated, it is to the effect that after the conquest of Somnath Mahmud entered the temple and ordered the idol to be demolished; that in spite of the strong protestations and remonstrances of the Brahmans, who threw themselves at the fect of the invader and rolled before him, imploring to spare the idol and take its weight in gold, the Sultan lifted up his mace and dealt it a heavy blow, saying that he would rather like to be called an idol-breaker than an idol-seller.

^{*} W G , 153

and that the moment the blow escaped the hollow figure burst asunder and poured forth a far larger treasure at the feet of the 'iconoclast' than that offered to him for sparing it. This story is ficutious for the following reasons: (1) It lacks all contemporary confirmation. If it had been true and correct, it would have been utilized as a theme for qasidas by such poets as Farrukhi. (2) The unexpected find of gems and jewels is not mentioned in any of the contemporary works, nor does it find place in the letter of victory sent by the Sultan to the Khalifa of Baghdad and quoted by the earlier authorities. (3) There ought to have been no question of offering a ransom for sparing the idol for the simple reason that everything belonged to Mahmüd by right of conquest and lay at his mercy. (4) The langams or phalli everywhere in India are invariably made of solid stone and are not hollow, and there is no reason why the lingam at Somnath be made an exception to the rule. (5) As the form and shape of the lingam of Somnath are not described by any writer, it is reasonable to believe that it was a shapeless solid stone and not hollow. (6) The contemporary scholar, Albertini, who had travelled all over India and recorded his observations on Hindu life and thought, has given elaborate rules regarding the construction of such idols (lingams).* He has nowhere mentioned that the *lingams* were hollow On the other hand, the impression that we gather from

^{*} See Sachau, 11, 193-4.

his account is that they were solid. In view of all these facts it is not safe to believe the story that Vahmūd was requested to spare the idol of Somnath and take its weight in gold and that he refused to do so on the ground that he preferred the title of idol-breaker to that of idol-seller. It must therefore be dismissed as a later concoction. That the idol was broken is true enough.

This story is as follows. Mahmud was so much fascinated by the climate Story of 2 of Kathiawar that he wished to fix his capital there, but was dissuaded by his officers from doing so and advised to leave a deputy there. There were two candidates for the post of governor—one an ascatic and the other a Raja—either called Dabishlim. The choice of the Sultan fell on the ascetic and he was appointed governor of the place. Lest Raja Dabishlim should menace the ascetic Dabishlim after the departure of Mahmud, he requested the Sultan to remove him from his way. At that time the Sultan said that he had already spent a period of three years in carrying on 'a holy war' in India and that he would have to stay there for another six months to settle that affair. Raja Dabishlim was attacked, defeated and brought a prisoner before the new governor, but he feared to keep him in his own custody and there-fore requested the Sultan to take him with him-self Mahmud acceded to his request and took the captive to Ghaznin. Subsequently, the governor sent his men to fetch over his rival to his capital.

When the captive was due the governor went a part of the way to receive him in accordance with the custom of the country. As the captive was a little late in arriving, he went to sleep under the shade of a tree, putting a red hand-kerchief on his face. While he was fast asleep, a bird of prey stooped down and, mistaking the red handkerchief for a piece of flesh, pounced upon his face and tore away his eyes along with the handkerchief. When the captive arrived, the people acclaimed him as their ruler, for their ruler (the ascetic) had been rendered unfit to rule. The new ruler, s.e., Raja Dabishlim, ascended the throne and confined his rival, the ascette, in the cell which the latter had prepared for him.*

This is a myth on the face of it. In the first place, it lacks all contemporary confirmation. There is nothing in the contemporary literature to corroborate any of the statements made above. It first appears in the Wasaya-i-Nisam-u-l-Mulk which is a work of the 9th century, written about four centuries after the death of Mahmud. Secondly, there is nothing on record to show that Mahmud ever fought against a Raja, named Dabishlim, whom he carried to Ghaznin as a prisoner, etc.† Thirdly, we know for certain that

^{*} T. F. 1, 34-35; Rausat-us-Safa, 741-42;

[†] In vain have some modern scholars devoted their time and energy to the identification of the mythical Dābishlīms with some Hindli princes of India Professor Hodivala has devoted considerable space to the subject, but has not been able to resist the conclusion that the story is a myth,

he left no governor at Somnāth. On the other hand, the Hindū governor of the place, who had fled at the approach of Mahmūd, returned soon after his departure † Fourthly, Mahmūd's stay at Somnāth did not exceed a few days. Allāma Ibn-ul-Asīr informs us that Mahmūd went back to Ghaznīn within four months after the capture of Somnāth ‡ During the years preceding and following the year of the Somnāth expedition Mahmūd was occupied elsewhere.§

pure and simple In his own words "The story is undoubtedly unhistorical and the details imaginary. The chronology also is impossible, as Mahmūd is known to have returned to Ghaznīn in 417 H. The name of Dābishlīm is only a literary fiction or reminiscence from the Kalilatva Dimna and the denouement is merely an edifying tale of poetic jūstice, an epilogue to inculcate and point a moral of the Biter bit' type" (S I-W H, 239)

See supra, pp 75 ff, and M. G, 118, f n 8

 $[\]dagger Z A, 86$

 $[\]ddagger K T$, $1 \times 1, 242-43$

^{\$} See supra, pp 35-36, 46-48

CHAPTER VII

∽SULTAN MAHMUD THE GREAT—VI

CLOSING DAYS, CHARACTER AND ESTIMATE

Now that we have dealt with the wars and conquests of Sultan Mahmud, the cultural activities of his reign and the stories delineating certain traits of his character, it has become easy for us to describe his character, to estimate the value of his work and to assign him his proper place in history. But before this is done, it is necessary to give a brief account of his closing days because they too have a bearing on the subject under discussion.

During the expedition against the Jats (1027 A. C.) Mahmūd is said to have contracted malaria, which became chronic and affected his lungs. He continued suffering from consumption for over two years. During hīs illness also he did not allow himself the rest that was so essential for his health. On the other hand, he concealed his ill-health from the public and exposed himself to the hardships of arduous journeys and distant expeditions. He performed his daily duties as before and did not shrink from proceeding against the Saljūqs and the refractory governors in person even when he was suffering from that malady. The result was that his heakth,

rapidly failing, broke down, so much so that he sank all of a sudden and passed away on the 30th of April, 1030 A. C. He was buried in the Fīrozī Garden which was his most favourite pleasure-resort † During his prolonged illness he showed remarkable powers of endurance and self-control. His end was indeed in harmony with his eventful career—a monument of patience and perseverence, self-reliance and contempt of danger. He died quite as boldly as he had lived—defying death.‡

On his death-bed the Sultan is said to have ordered his treasures to be displayed before him and to have 'wept bitterly' at their sight. His grief on that occasion is differently interpreted by different writers: One theory is that he felt pangs of remorse at the prospect of leaving behind his treasures of wealth without having spent anything in the way of God. The sponsors of this theory charge him with "a sordid love of mammon" and condemn

^{*} According to lunar reckoning Mahmud had an age of sixty-one years

 $[\]dagger T M, 12$

 $[\]ddagger Z A$, 92; and K T, 13, 281

[§] The first propounder of this view seems to have been Khwandmir He is followed, among others, by Sir W Haig who says. "The avarice most conspicuously displayed in his review of his riches before his death and in his undignified lamentations over the prospect of leaving them.." (C. H I, 111, 27)

It m as a typical instance of avarice and greed. The other theory is just the reverse. According to it. Mahmd realized the ultimate helplessness of man and the mutability of human greatness.* In the presence of irrefutable evidence, pointing to his generosity, which was so widely and so liberally enjoyed, it is impossible to subscribe to the former theory. The latter theory is quite tenable because its interpretation of Mahmdd's lamentations is completely consistent with the facts of his infe. Apart from all this, the Sultan himself is said to have so explained his grief in some verses that have come down to us. Moreover, in his last moments he must have received a rude

† The verses (T H., 1, 295) are as follows — برار قلعہ کشادم بیک اشارت دست

سے مصاب شکستم بنک اشارت پاے مگر تامی تک میں سیادات اس

چومرگ تاحتی آوارد بیزچ سود لداشک نقا نقائے چدا است و ملک ملک خداے

The evidence of these verses, read with the evidence cited above, is conclusive on the point under discussion

^{*} Dr M Nāzm has beautifully expounded this theory in these words ", and possibly the terrible drama of a lifetime—the burning towns, the runed castless, the fields of battle seething with blood, the yells of frightened fugitives, and the groans of dying wrethers, mingled with the clatter of victorious arms,—all rose in a ghastly vision before his troubled soul A pang of remorse shot through his heart, tears trickled down his checks" (M G, 125) Another theory is—that Mahmud's lamentations were due to his illness Professor M Habib says that consumptive diseases have such effects (S M, G, 5,6, fin).

shock at the presentment that the empire that had entailed so much suffering and bloodshed was tottering to its fall before his own eyes. "On the distant horizon", says Dr. M. Nāsim, "his keen eye could discern a dark cloud, the harbinger of a threatening storm for the Selfiqs, whom in a moment of weakness he had permitted to settle in Khurasan, were gathering force with ominious rapidity. The stupendous achievement of a life of vigorous warfare appeared to be crumbling away as the great Sultan lay on his death-bed."

There is no doubt that Mahmud had succeeded in creating a vast and wonderful Beginning empire out of chaos within a period of thirty lars—an achievement which reflects great credit on his military Beginning of the end genus—, built is open to doubt if he had taken necessary steps to consolidate what he had conquered and to cement the foundations of his empire. His work did not endure The mighty fabric fell down soon after his death. It appears that it had some inherent weaknesses and that it carried the germs of disintegration with it. the first place, consolidation in the scheme of the Sultan did not keep proc with conquest. Most of his time was occupied by wars and conquests. Consequently, he had little leisure to detote to administrative affairs. The story of the widow who complained of Inviessness in the distant parts of the Ghaznawia Empire and Manmud's

[&]quot; M G . 125.

prompt action does reflect credit on the Sultan's sense of duty towards his subjects, but it does not conceal the fact that the administrative control was rather slack * Secondly, the Empire had grown unwieldy and in the absence of such means of communication and transportation as we have in our own times it was not easy to inspire awe and fear among the refractory governors of the outlying provinces of the far-flung empire, who never missed an opportunity or failed to avail themselves of the weakness of the Central Government. Thirdly, when the Sultan was out on his expeditions the work of administration was carried on by his ministers. There is no doubt that his ministers were men of great ability and character, but it cannot be denied that they were wanting in the breadth of vision and betrayed a certain amount of selfishness. They devised no means and methods for controlling the distant parts of the Empire and establishing the Imperial authority there. On the other hand, they seem to have done more to strengthen the Vizarat Department than to cement the foundations of the great Empire. + Fourthly, the government of the newly conquered provinces was not based on the acquiescent good-will of

^{*} On receipt of her complaint when the Sulfan urged the impossibility of maintaining law and order in such remote parts of his Empire as Iria, the widow boldly retorted. "Why do you conquer places which you cannot imporely govern? You shall have to account for this on the Day of Jöllgment." (S. N. 58)

+ See S. A. M. A. 161. ff.

the people living there. Kingdoms were over-thrown and princes were taken prisoners, but no attempt was made to pacify the people Temporarily subdued, the supporters and sympathizers of the fallen stars were ever ready to cast in their lot with the enemies of the Sultan with a view to throw off his voke. Fifthly, the wealth that had poured in from all quarters fostered luxury among the Ghaznawids and demoralized them. The rise, at first, of the Saljuqs and then of the Ghurids, who were heads and shoulders above the degenerated Ghaznawids in physical strength and stamina, sounded the death-knell of the Ghaznawid Empire, which could not withstand or survive the repeated rebuffs inflicted on it by its enemies. Finally, the successors of Sultan Mahmud were mere mediocres, who could not control the affairs of such a vast and wonderful Empire. Some of them were too weak to suppress disorders even in their capital. The dismemberment of the Empire began as soon as the master-mind was no more. The disruptive elements kept under control by Mahmud escaped soon after his death and plunged the administrative affairs into chaos."

The character and work of Sultan Mahmud, whose name has become the centre Mahmud's of a cycle of heroic legends, have occasioned a most heated controversy. By some he is regarded as a fierce, ferocious and fanatical Muslim who knew no pity

² See *infra*, Chapters VIII and IX

and who tried to plant Islain in India at the point of the sword Others have depicted him in most lurid colours and tried to show that he was a brigand chief, with an insatiable thirst for power. pelf and prestige, 'so laboriously won, so precarrously held, so mevitably lost Dazzled by his extraordinary genius-too dazzled to know his limitations-, his ill-informed admirers have raised him above criticism and declared him not only the greatest sovereign the world has ever produced but also a saint, endowed with miraculous powers. Whereas fanatics of to-day have extolled him as a true model of kingship whose foot-steps every Muslim king should aspire to follow, moralists of a different type have condemned him as an embodiment of avarice, greed and selfishness, Such are the conflicting and contradictory views about his character and work, carried to their farthest extremes by their exponents. The truth hes between the two extremes, for Mahmud was neither the one nor the other-neither a saint nor a savage. As a man and a-mortal, he had his own virtues and weaknesses; and there is no point in exaggerating the one or the other side of his character and thus overdrawing the picture.

A man of medium stature, with muscular and well-proportioned limbs, fine complexion, handsome face, small eyes and a fine round chin, covered with a sparse beard, Mahmüd enjoyed a sound robust health which never failed him during his thirty years' struggle when he had to bear the

hardships and privations of arduous journeys and prolonged sieges,* except at the end when he fell ill and spoiled it by strenuous work.

Mahmud was endowed with remarkable qualities of head and heart. Kind His virtues and sympathetic by nature, he was a man of strong family affections. He was a dutiful son and a loving brother. As a lieutenant of his father, he proved himself a great source of strength to him in his military expeditions. He always tried to act upon his advice. The reasons why he acted against his will in the matter of succession to the throne have been set forth at their proper place and there is no need to recapitulate them here. † Suffice it to

This testimony of Allama Ibn-ul-Asīr (K T, 1, 284) and Sibt Ibn-ul-Jawzī (quoted by Dr M Nāzim in M'G', 151, f n 1) is enough to belie the story that Mahmūd had very ugly looks, which was a constant source of mortification to him (T G in E & D, 11, 245, H I, 246) Referring to the personal features of Mahmūd, Hamdullah Mastaufi says ومرت كريالقا بي و had an ugly appearance (T G, 395) The Sizāsat-Nāmah of Nizām-ul-Mulk is, as far as I know, the earliest source of the insinuation It is a work of the 5th century H (485 A H = 1092-93 A C) All that it says about Mahmūd's personal looks is — المال المالية و المالية

[†] See supra pp 26-29.

say that Subuktigin had made a mistake in nominating Ismāīl as his successor. Having explored all avenues of a peaceful settlement of claims, he took up the gauntlet thrown down by his brother as a last resort, and then, inflicting a defeat on his rival and taking him prisoner, he treated him with characteristic kindness. It was only when Ismāīl abused the indulgence shown to him by his brother by plotting against his life in collusion with Nushtigin Kai that he was transferred to the custody of the governor of luzianan, where he ended his life in peace.* That was the greatest punishment inflicted by Mahmud on his brother for the offence of treason. He treated his other brothers with great love, took them into confidence and entrusted them with responsible posts and powers†. His treat ment of his uncle, Bughrajūq, was marked by the same feelings of affection He was very keen and careful about the education of his sons. He maintained a very strict supervision over their

^{*} Ibid , 28-29.

[†] His brother, Abul Muzaffar Nasr, who was in charge of the provence of Nishfour, was a most capable and public-spirited officer Speaking of him, 'Util says that so noble, pure, kind, and liberal was his disposition that a harsh word was never heard from him during his whole life, and he offered ho wrong or violence to anyone.' This is a well-deserved tribute from a competent historian having personal knowledge about the prince praised (KY, Reynold's translation, pp 485-86) Gardizi informs us that he was entrusted with the highest military office in the empire, t. e., the command of the troops of Khurasan, and the governorship of Sistian (ZA, 79).

private life and tried to regulate their social activities in accordance with the Islamic code of morality. He trained them in the military exercises of the day; and in order to enable them to pick up the requisite administrative experience, he placed them in charge of provincial governments and appointed capable ministers to assist them in their work. He was very kind and considerate to his officers. He respected their legitimate aspirations and always tried to promote their interests. That was why he received glowing tributes from them even after his death. He threw careers open talents and recognized ability, education and experience as the principal qualifications for the State service. Dr. M. Nāzim assures us that there is nothing on record to indicate that he ever chose his ministers for considerations other than those stated above.* He was very generous and forgiving and it was only in rare cases that he inflicted capital punishment. He seldom punished the rebels with anything worse than simple imprisonment. He had an innate love of justice and was profoundly interested in its even-handed distribution. His sense of justice is beautifully illustrated by the treatment meted out by him to his nephew for contracting illicit connections with the wife of a poor mant and

^{*} M G, 151

[†] Once a poor man presented a complaint to the Sultān, alleging that his nephew, having struck intimacy with his wife, had entered his house by force, disgraced him and driven m out by dealing blows; and that the offender had

the runishment inflicted by him on an important initary officer named 'All Nushtigin for transgressing the Muslim law. ' His own son, Mas'ud, could escape to appear before a Qazī only by an immediate settlement of the claim against him. t His respect for genuine piety is borne out by the visit he paid to the celebrated saint, Abul Hasan Khargani, after undertaking an arduous journey! and the reception he used to accord to another saint, named Abū Saīd 'Abdul Malik bin Abū 'Usman Muhammad bin Ibrahim al-Khargushi, whenever he visited the Imperial Court. He was deeply interested in the welfare of his subjects Story-tellers and other writers have credited him with a strong sense of duty to his people and a very high conception of kingship.

renewed the outrage more than once The Sultan was evasperated at this piece of information and was beside himself with rage, but he asked the complainant to keep quest and to come again and inform him as soon as the offender paid another visit. On the third day the complainant appeared again and informed the Sultian of the wrong to which he was being constantly subjected. Putting on a loose cloak and taking his sword with him. Mahmid followed the complainant to his house and found the guilty couple in flagrants do itself. He first extinguished the lamp and then dealt such a blow to the shulletter with his sword that his best fell off. (T.F.), is best of the first extraguished.

^{*} S N., 41

[†] Ibid., 208

I TF, 1, 37 38, and Taskarat-ul-Aultya, Pt II, 209

^{\$} K T., 1x. 247.

It is narrated that on receiving a complaint from a widow about a dacoity in the vicinity of Iraq, in which her son was killed, he took effective measures for the maintenance of law and order even in the remotest parts of his far-flung empire.

From being an orthodox follower of the Hanafite school of law, Mahmud His religious changed over to the Karramife creed, which attributed "substantiality" to God, and ultimately subscribed to the Shafi'ite school of law † Despite these changes—indicating perhaps a spirit of independent inquiry in religious matters—, he had a strong faith in God and was so firm in faith—that even—amidst a clash of arms he would kneel down to offer his homage to the Almighty and pray for the success of his arms. Punctilious in the performance of his religious duties, he paid Zakāt and distributed alms among the poor and was highly extolled for his piety. He is said to have been

In the presence of such strong and sufficient

TH, 1, 296, and SN, 58

[†] T Y., 324-33, Mughis-ul-Khalq quoted in M.G, 159, and S.N, 44.

 $[\]ddagger T$ M, 330, K T, 1x, 262, and M G, 159. Ferishta, a later historian, thus describes the character of Sultan Mahmud the Great -

^{&#}x27;'سلطان محمود عز دوی پادشا هے دود ناصنا می سعادت دننی و دندوی فائر گردیده . . . سنوت پسندیده نجائے رسا نند که (ر بهم پادشا بهان در گشت'' (تاریم فرشته - حاد اول - صفحات ۲۲-۲۳)

keenly desirous of performing a pilgrimage to Mecca, but his political pre-occupations left him no time to do so * Far from finantic, as he is too often described, he was not even a bigot, and if he was, he was one without intolerance. He maintained a large body of Hindus in his service and we know for certain that conversion was not a condition of their employment. He waged wars with the infidels not because it was mentorious from religious point of view—they had not the least semblance of Jihad (defensive war) in them—, but because it was a part of his military programme, a great source of gain and, withal, the greatest source of glory in his times †

He was the beau sdeal of a soldier. He always fought in the front rank and his was always the inspiring soul in the battle-field. He is said to

evidence, pointing to his piety, it is difficult to believe that he was addicted to drinking, as he is supposed to have been (Al. G., 153). He might have been addicted to drinking in his youth and then given it up later on and become pious. But for this there is nothing to reconcile the two contradictory traits of his character — 45 15

* M G . 160

[†] See supra, pp 84 ff., and H I, 292. There is but one solution that the supra supra

have received as many as 72 cuts and wounds.* His genius as a general cannot be described justly except in terms of superlatives that defy the dictionary. His military exploits eclipsed those of Alexander the Great and stand unsurpassed in the annals of the world. At his accession he was the ruler of Ghaznin, Bust and Balkh, which he held as a vassal of the Samanid King Immediately after his accession he declared his independence and, like other independent rulers, established direct relations with the Khalīfa of Baghdad Next he launched upon a career of conquest which was crowned with the creation of a vast and wonderful empire. He conquered Sīstān, Ghūr, Gharshistān, Khwārizm, Kāfiristān, Raiy, Jibal, and Isfahan, and established his Raiy, Jibāl, and Isfahān, and established his suzerainty over the rulers of Qusdār, Mekrān, Tabaristān, Jurjān, Khultān, Saghāniyān and Qubādiān in the west. In the east he overran a large part of India, overthrew the Hindūshāhiya Dynasty which ruled over the region between Lamghān and the river Biyās, conquered Multān and Bhātiya and exacted allegiance from the rulers of the states of southern Kashmīr, Kanauj, Kālinjar, Gwālior, Narāyanpur and many other Rājas of secondary importance. Within a period of three decades he set up an empire which extended from Irāq and the Caspian Sea to the Ganges and from the Aral Sea and Transoxiana to the Indian Ocean, Sind and the desert of Rājpūtāna, covering an area of about 2,800,000

¹ Majmā-ul-Ansāb quoted in M G., 154.

square miles "

So much of Mahmud's time was occupied by conquests that he had little leisure to As a lang devote to administrative affairs. But the fact that he was able to preserve good order throughout the length and breadth of his far-flung empire bears eloquent testimony to his administrative talents. He was richly endowed with a creative and constructive genius, but he did not introduce any new legislation or innovations like other great kings. This was perhaps because he had no time to do that. Persian institutions and the laws of the Sharivat served his purpose well, and without wasting his time in formulating new laws and introducing new institutions, he contented himself with whatever readymade he had. For the effective and efficient administration of his kingdom he created an official machinery and put it in charge of a responsible officer who was officially known as Wazir † The Wazir was the most important man in the kingdom, next only to the monarch. The first to occupy this position under Mahmud was 'Abdul Abbas Fazl bin Ahmad, a man of wide and varied experience and an expert in the art

of government I Abbas remained in office for a

^{*}M G., 169

[†] For details on the subject, see last chapter Also see S A M A, 161 ff., and M G, 135-37

[‡] He had gained enough administrative experience during his service under Subuktigin and the Samanids

period of about ten years and acquitted himself very admirably But the jealousies of the nobles aroused by his rise, coupled with his refusal to surrender a favourite slave of his to the Sultān and some alleged misappropriation of State revenue, brought about his fall While Mahmud was out on an Indian expedition, he was treated so tyrannically that he succumbed to the tortures to which he was subjected.* The next man who became Wazir was Shamsul-Kutāt† Abul Qāsim Ahmād bin Hasan al-Maimandi, a man of great culture and refinement, an able administrator and, above all, a school-fellow and foster brother of the Sultan. He enjoyed the confidence of the king for not less than eighteen years-and-during-this-long period he gave ample proof-of-his-genius for government, devotion to duty, discipline and loyalty, and established his reputation so strongly that his name passed on from generation to generation as one of the wisest and most upright ministers in the Muslim world. Unfortunately, however, he too, like the first Wazir, incurred the enmity of the nobles by disregarding them, and the result was that he also met the same fate-was dismissed and sent a prisoner to one

⁽S A M A, 164, and M G, 135).

^{*} T Y, 265-73, $As\bar{a}r$ -ul- $Wuzar\bar{a}$, $Dast\bar{u}r$ -ul- $Wuzar\bar{a}$, S A M A, 164-65, and M G, 135

^{† &#}x27;Shams-ul-Kufāt' was the title of this Wazīr (Vide T Y, 346, L H P, 11, 105, S N, Pt I, Ch vii, 51 and Pt II, Ch xi, 53) In E & D, Vol 11, p 486, it is written as Shams-ul-Kah, which is nonsense

of the forts of India * Apparently, it was the second time that the opposition of the nobles compelled Mahmud to throw out his minister. Since the safety and stability of the government depended very largely on the good-will and cooperation of the nobility, both the monarch and his minister had to respect their feelings and to carry out their wishes. In order, therefore, to eliminate the element of opposition to the Wazīr Mahmud asked them to select four men and to submit their names to him, so that he might choose one of them as his Wazir This was done, and the Sultan considered the qualifications of each individual candidate and said that the first, Abul Qasım, was indispensable in the military department, that the second, Abul Hasan lacked polished manners, that the third, Ahmad. was most useful in the refractory province of Khwarizm, and that the fourth, Hasanak,† was the fittest man, both by ability and descent, but was unfortunately too young to occupy that exalted office The nobles noted that the Sultan

Jawāmi-ul-Hikāzāt, I, x11, 9, T M, 211, T Y, 272-73, S A M A, 165-66, S N, 206, and Asār-ul-Wuzarā

[†] His real name as given by Gardīzī is Hasan bin Muhammad-al-Mīkāilī (Z A, 96) According to Ferishta, it was Ahmad Hasan bin Mīkāil (T F, 1, 38) 'Utbī calls him Abū 'Alī Hasan bin Muhammad bin Abbās (T Y, 329) and on his authority Khwāndmīr speaks of him as Abū 'Alī Husain (recte Hasan) bin Muhammad (Dastūr-ul-Wuzarā in E & D, 1v, 151) Hasanak is the diminutive or familiar form of Hasan (S, I II H, 156)

was most favourably inclined towards the youngest candidate and, knowing that all the four candidates would be rejected if they did not declare for him, they unanimously voted for Hasanak who accepted the office and occupied it till the death of the Sultan.* The election of a panel by the officials and the selection of one Wazir from it by the Sultan and giving reasons, in brief, for the appointment of one and the rejection of others in a constitution in which there was no organized public opinion made the king constitutional at least in this respect, for the method of selection was decidedly better than arbitrary appointment.† While assuming the command of his army,—for most of his life he spent in camp, -he left the prosaic task of administration to his talented ministers who displayed considerable tact and ability in the management of State affairs. His civil officers had the efficiency that was required of them. The result was that the administration was based on the principles of Justice and equity, and law and order were maintained so vigorously that "the lion and the fox drank side by side from the same stream." Trade and commerce were protected, "so that caravans could freely pass between Khurāsān and Lahore." Provincial governors were warned to be strictly honest in their dealings. They were kept under strict control and were not

^{*} T M, 208-11, 453-54, T Y., 329-33, K T., 1x, 239, and S A M A, 166-67.

[†] S A M A, 166-67

allowed to oppress the people in any way. The activities of the shopkeepers were regularly watched, and the Sultan himself appointed officers to supervise the weights and measures used by the merchants * Yet with all their extraordinary genius, they were wanting in the breadth of vision which, if they had, would have enabled them to consolidate with their far-sighted statesmanship what their king had conquered by his superior military genius We cannot deny that they were clever and thorough in their work, but the fact cannot escape recognition that, like common-place administrative experts, they were devoid of idealism and that an empire without ideals cannot last long.†

Mahmūd's claims to cultural greatness are equally well-founded. He was a liberal patron of art and literature and under him Ghaznin rose to the rank of a stately city, containing such masterpieces of art as "the Celestial Bride" and such educational institutions as the Grand University. His patronage of poetry has rightly passed into a proverb

Mahmud was not without some weaknesses.‡

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weaknesses.

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Mahmud's
was not without some weaknesses.‡

Mahmud was not without some weaknesses.‡

^{*} T. M, 664; T. Y, 332; and S N., 41 † S M G, 69-70.

There was in him, says Allama Ibn-ul-Asīr, "nothing which could be blamed save that he would seek

arguments, though he had the grace to acknowledge his mistakes in cooler moments after momentary fits of indignation. Tolerant towards the Zimmis (non-Muslims) to a fairly high degree, his attitude towards the non-Sunni Muslims was positively hostile. He could not tolerate the slightest departure from belief in the orthodox Sunnī sect. He appointed Mulitasibs (censors) to supervise the religious life of his subjects and to punish them for heresy and moral delinquency. The Carmathians, Batinis and other non-Sunnis were captured, imprisoned and impaled; and their literature was destroyed without the least compassion In the words of Dr. M. Nazim "An invaluable store of learning which the liberal policy and scholarly zeal of the Buwailids had accumulated in the course of years was thus consumed in an instant to satisfy the enthusiasm of the puritan warrior" Though honest and

to obtain money in every way" The Allama has laid his finger on a weak spot in Mahmud's character On receipt of money from a wealthy man, accused of Carmathian herest, he issued a certificate testifying to the soundness of his religious beliefs. But this does not imply that he was greedy. The need and not the greed for money, as already pointed out, led him sometimes to resort to objectionable means for acquiring it

i This intolerance does not seem to have been genuine. It was most probably occasioned by the hostile attitude of the Sunni Khalifa of Baghdād who had declared a war against the Fātimid Khalifa of Cairo who championed the cause of the family of the Prophet Muhammad. The political motives which influenced his attitude towards the non-Sunnis takes most of the fanatic out of Mahmūd,

upright in daily life, he did not shrink from having recourse to underhand means when they served his purpose well in political and administrative matters As the founder of a dynasty, he was a failure and in the matter of deciding the question of succession to the throne after his death he cannot escape the blame of short-sightedness 1017 A C he nominated Mas'ud as his successor,* but in 1018 A. C he left Muhammad as his deputy at Ghaznin and asked the Khalifa of Baghdad to give preference to his name over that of his biother, Mas'ud, in official correspondence † This engendered hostilities between the two brothers and led to the formation of two parties, which made confusion worse confounded # Later he divided the almost unwieldy empire between Mas'ud and Muhammad, but here again he betrayed the same partiality § This added fuel to the fire and set it ablaze Shortly before his death, he disinherited Mas'ud and nominated Muhammad as the sole monarch of his dominions after his death This was a blunder of the first magnitude and the Sultan cannot be exonerated

but it also reveals a weakness of character-violation of the most elementary principles of morality for ulterior motives

[&]quot; T M, 256

[†] Ibid, 258 ‡ The division of the empire was well thought out, for it had become extremely difficult to control the outlying provinces from Ghaznin, but the division was far from judicious, for it favoured one and handicapped the other

^{\$} T M. 27-28

of the charge of unduly favouring his younger son, especially when he knew too well that the elder was the abler of the two brothers.

From the preceding analysis of Mahmūd's character it is evident that his virtues far-outweighed his weaknesses and his constructive work fully overshadows all that he destroyed. Everything considered, he was by far the greatest king of his age and one of the greatest personalities of the world. Referring to the two extreme view-points about his character and work—the Hindūs representing him as a veritable Hun and the Muslims adoring him as a hero after their own hearts, z e., a Walī-allah†—Professor Ishwari Prasad thus expresses his opinion with touching brevity:—

"The impartial observor must, however, record a different verdict. To him the Sultan was a born leader of men, a just and upright ruler, an intrepid and gifted soldier, a dispenser of justice, a patron of letters, and deserves to be ranked among the greatest personalities of the world".

⁴ T N, 91-93

[†] He is frequently spoken of by Muslims as a Wali-allah (saint) endowed with miraculous powers

⁺ A Short History of Muslim Rule in India, by Dr. Ishwari Prasad, 55, and M I, 115.

CHAPTER VIII

SULTAN MAS'UD I

Sultan Mahmüd left three sons, viz. Mas'ūd, Muhammad and Nasr, of whom the first-named was the eldest and the last-named the youngest and a mi-

nor.* As early as 406 A. H. (=1015-16 A. C.)
Mahmud had nominated Mas'ud as his successor and made his nobles swear allegiance to him t Later, he was annoyed with the 'riotous conduct' of the heir-apparent and made up his mind to bequeath his kingdom to his second son, Muhammad, who had made his way into the favours of his father during the expulsion of his brother. As a shrewd and experienced politician, Mahmad knew too well that Mas'ad was the abler of the two rival claimants and more qualified to rule in those troubled times. He therefore contemplated a division of the Empire but the idea was dropped probably because it aggravated the rivalry between the brothers and led to the formation of two parties and the creation of further troubles. Fortified with the permission of the Khalifa to nominate his successor and following the precedent of the Ommayade Khalifas, notably Muawiya, he declared Muhammad as his suc-

^{*} T. M. 256 Dr. Ishwari Prasid (M. I., 119) says that Mas'nd was Muhammad's "younger brother", but as he does not trie his authority, it is not safe to accept his statement as correct + T. M. 256.

cessor and managed to instal him as such. He got his name inserted in the Khutba and made his nobles take oath of allegiance to him.

The story of the struggle for succession between Mas'ud and Muhammad is The war of a mere repetition of that of the consuccession. test for kingdom between Mahmud and his brother, Ismail. At the time of Mahmūd's death Mas'ūd was away in charge of the government of Isfahan In his absence Muhammad was elevated to the throne and the local grandees renewed their allegiance to him in accordance with the will of the late Sultan. When Mas'ūd received information about all this, he wrote a letter of condolence to his brother. Muhammad, expressing profound sorrow at the demise of his revered father and called upon him to acknowledge his superior claims by giving precedence to his name in the Khutba and the coins t Muhammad offered a flat refusal and

Vide T M, 27-28, 151, 258, $Jaw\bar{a}mi-ul-Hik\bar{a}_{\bar{J}}\bar{a}t$, 1, XI, 46, Baizawi in E & D, 11, 256; T N, 14, T F, 1, 40, and Reverty's T N, 85 f n 9, 91, 92 f n 4 and 93

[†] Mas'ud refused to acquiesce in Muhammad's succession and asserted his own claims on the following grounds, vis., (1) In his early years his father had declared him as his Wali-Ahad or heir-apparent (2) The Khalifa of Baghdad had granted him Manshūr and Karāmat (dimploma of investiture and robe of honour respectively) and thus vindicated his right to succeed to his father, and this, according to him, was the strongest ground (3) He commanded the confidence of three prominent classes, vis, nobles, commoners and religious people (4) He possessed

Mas'ud had no alternative but to resort to the arbitrament of the sword. As soon as he arrived from Isfahan, the people took up his cause and the army also sided with him. Muhammad was taken prisoner, blinded and confined in the fort of Walwall, * while Mas ud ascended the throne and

the requisite qualifications for kingship, t e ability to rule and the tact to command respect of his officers

It may be noted here that the idea of having his claims to succession recognized by the Khalifa of Bagl dad had occurred to him quite early and he had sent an envoy to Al-Oldir Billah, the Khalifa of Baghdad, with rich presents, and requested him to recognize his title. In addition to the presents sent. Mas'ud had also promised to send a sum of 200,000 dinars and 10,000 pieces of cloth every year to the Khalifa if his request was acceded to return for all this, his request was granted and the Khalifa was pleased to send him a formal diploma of investiture. conferring upon him the titles and territories of his father. with the additional title of Zahir-ul-Kinlafat-ullah Amirul-Mountain Mas'ad regarded this as a great victory and fully exploited it in his struggle for succession T M, 16-17, 49, 50 ff., 86, 101, 127, 533, T N, 1, 312, and T. F , 1, 40) This word has a number of variants Gardizi calls it

Walat, (Z A . 95). He is followed by Nizam-ud-Din Almad (T A, 11) and Ferishta (T F, 1, 40) Ferishta further adds that in those days Walay was also called Khala by the people of Qandhär (Ibd.) Baihaqi calls it Walwilij (T B), 693, 693, 695) He locates it on the road running between Kabul and Balkh. (Ibd., 350), Minhāj-us-Şirāj (T. N., 343, 349, 359) calls it Walakh (recte Walaj) It appears that a dot was left out by the scribe and thus & was converted into C. Elliot's translation has it as Balbaj (recte Walwaj) He identifies it with Kelat-i-Ghilzai (E & D., iv. 192, foot-note), but his conjecture does not carry weight in the presence of assumed the reins of lingship with great care and caution.

Immediately after his accession to the throne, Release and Sultan Mas'ud ordered the release of Khwaja Ahmad bin Hasan alof Maimandi Maimandi, brought him out of prison and reinstated him in his previous post. It was only after an unusually great reluctance and extraordinary pressure brought to bear upon him by the Sultan that he accepted the ministerial portfolio, but not before his duties and obligations, powers and privileges were clearly defined. He submitted a written statement, containing terms and conditions of service and got it approved by the Sultan before accepting the office by When he was formally brought

Professor Hodivala's postulation, identifying it with Walwālīj, the place where Sultān Mahmūd had a mint (S I-NI H, 190) Some of the coins struck at the said mint are preserved in the British Museum (C O C, II, p 148, No 503) It was a town in Tukhāristān (L E C, 428) According to Abul Fida, it was the capital of that place (A A iii, 88, note)

It was customary in those days for the Grand Wasir of the Ghaznawids to submit a written statement, technically called Mawasa' (r^{so}), containing the duties and obligations of the Wasir and defining his powers and privileges in relation to and as against other Wasirs and high officials and even as against the Sultān himself and to get it approved by the Sultān before swearing allegiance to the throne and writing down an oath of allegiance ($E \ E \ D$, 11, 65-67) Similar statements were indited and signed by some other Wasirs and the terms and conditions

to the Royal Court, the Sultan invested him with powers and privileges second only to his v. rarobe, so that he might put on the official costume prescribed for the Grand Wasir. Dressing himself in a garment of scarlet cloth of Baghdad, which was profusely worked with gold-thread, donning an Anama (turban) of the innest muslin cloth, fringed with beautiful borthest musin cloth, fringed with beautiful por-ders and decorated with a chain, and putting on a girdle of 1,000 misagals, studded with tur-quoises, he appeared before the Sultan and offered him a beautiful bunch of pearls, valuing at 10,000 dishams. In return, the Sultan presented him with his own ring, beset with a turquoise and having his own name inscribed in it. The Khwāja gratefully accepted the proferred pre-sent and swore allegiance to the Sultan. When he went home, people want to greet him in great numbers and showered such valuable presents on him as articles of gold and silver, fine pieces of cloth, camels, horses and Turkish slaves. Having collected the presents and gifts, the Khwaja sent them to the Sultan. Impressed by his unselfishness, the Sultan ordered 'Abdus, one of his personal attendants, to take 10,000

lad therein were formally approved by the Grand Wasir-The Blawata' was thus a covenant or contract of service between the employer and employee, defining the duties and obligations, powers and privileges of the parties in relation to each other The Khwajia submitted a similar statement to the Sultan before accepting the office of Grand Wasir and obtained his sanction (S. Lall H. 152).

dinars, 50,000 dirhams, ten Turkish slaves, five horses from the royal stud and ten camels as presents from him. Once liberated and restored to his previous position, the talented Khwaja

† He had served Sultan Mahmud as his Wazir for a period of 18 years, but was condemned owing to the

[&]quot;The man who took the presents of the Sultan to the Khwaja was called 'Abdus (عدوس المعادية) The original is - ينم عمل حاص ودة اشتر عندوس الرد أو دد (Abdus took five special horses (reserved for the use of the Sultan) and ten camels to him The translation in E & D, 11, 72 is as follows "So he ordered five horses and ten 'Abdus camels to be taken to him." There is and ought to be no izāfat after sal and 'Abdus camels is a sheer nonsense Professor Ishwari Prasad (M 1, 163) has followed E & D without ascertaining the meaning of 'Abdus camels and comparing the translation in $E \in D$, with c : "When 'Abdus approached the Khwaja with these presents, the Khwaja rose up and 'Abdus then returned' It is quite clear from the original that 'Abdus was an important officer of the Sultan, who took presents to the Khwaja, because the latter rose up at his arrival as a mark of respect Moreover, we have enough evidence to show that 'Abdus was a favourite personal attendant of Sultan Mas'ud His full name was Abu S'ad bin 'Abdul Aziz (Z A, 98, and T A., 11) He is frequently referred to by Baihaqi, extracts from whose book are translated in $E \in D$, ii, 62, 90-92, 101. The translation of the above extract in $E \in D$ is as follows "When the camels brought the presents before the Khawajah, he rose up The camels then returned " What a funny translation!

devoted himself heart ond soul to the task of reorganizing the Wizarat Department which had become notorious for delay during his absence. He screwed up the machinery of administration and tightened its control, so much so that every department of the State became active and efficient under his care and control.

While Khwaja Ahmad bin Hasan al-MaimandI was so kindly treated and Execution of honoured by the Sultan, his pre-Hasanak decessor in office, vis., Hasanak, was charged with treason on the ground that he had poisoned Mahmud's mind against Mas'ud * How far that charge was correct, we are not in a position to say; but taking it as it is, it appears to have been too vague to carry conviction with those who liked and loved Hasanak. Nor could the Sultan convince his high officials of the necessity or desirability of doing away with the ex-Prime Minister. Even Ahmad bin Hasan al-Maimandi, recently released and restored to his previous post, stoutly opposed the idea of executing him. Unable to raise and substantiate any tangible charge against him. Mas'ud, who was bent upon taking the life of Hasanak, revived the

intrigues of an Amir who bore him much jealousy (Dastiir-ul-Wuzarā in E & D. iv, 151)

^{*} In his 'Dastir-ul-Wuzara, Khwandmir has stated that during his Wasirshio Hasanak had spoken il of thas 'da before Sultan Mahrad and that Mas'ad satisfied the grudge he cherished against him when he became king (E. & D. iv. 153)

old charge of his having subscribed to the Garmathian creed. We are not in possession of any details about the charge, but frima faces and to all intents and purposes it was false and frivulous Moreover, that episode had been closed during the reign of Sultan Mahmud and there was no justification for reopening it *Braling to substantiate this charge, Mas'ed referred the matter to the Khalifa of Baghdad and obtained his sanction for the execution of Hasanak' a The sanction of the Khalifa was in itself a weighty argument in support of the Khalifa, the Sultan subjected the victim of his wrath to a great humiliation and ordered him to be stoned to death When the victim

^{*} See subrat, p. 95. The gravamen of the charge against Hasanak was that he had received a robe of honour from Al-Zahir, the Khalifa of Cairo, but Mahmud had sent the said robe of honour to the Khalifa of Baghddd, who had ordered the execution of the recipient, and it had been burnt to ashes in a public square at Baghddd. The episode was thus closed and the case was res judgactar Mas'nd was not justified in reopening the question and subjecting the ex-Prime Minister to such a fate.

[†] The Khalifa of Baghdad had been annoyed when Hasanak was favoured with a robe of honour by the anti-Khalifa of Cairo and he had written to Mahmid on the subject Mahmid had appeased him by sending the robe in question to Baghdad where it had been burnt. Apparently the Khalifa was not satisfied with the punishment He gave full vent to his deep-seated resentment against Hasanak by ordering him to be stoned to death when the matter was referred to him by Mas'dd.

was taken to the scaffold on the date fixed, a lirge number of people went to witness the catastrophe So popular was he with the people that the spectators were filled with grief and indignation when they saw the ex-Prime Minister only with his turban and trousers on and his hands clasped together. They burst into an uproar, but were dispersed by the mounted guards. He was then taken to the gibbet and hanged. This inhuman and tragic act drew down upon its authors the curses of all those who loved and respected Hasanak.* The circumstances that surrounded the execution of Hasanak show that it was not possible even for

⁸ Khana Bu Su'nal was one of his worst enemies who thristed for his life. He vehemently advocated the execution of Hasanak After his execution, Hasanak's head was chopped off and served up in a dish at a feast held by him to the complete horror of his guests. The head was again hung on the gibbet and it remained suppended their of seven years. Baihaqi informs us that his feet dropped off and his corpse was completely dired up so much so that very little was left of his body when it was taken down to be intered in the prescribed manner. When his mother learn of his tragic fate, she burst into tears and in a terrible anguish she exclaimed. "What a fortune was may son's, a king like Mahmid gave him this world, and one like Mas'ud the next." (E & D, 11, 100) A poet of Nishapur wrote the following elegy on Hasanak.—

[&]quot;They cut off the head of him who was the head of heads, The ornamen of his country, the crown of the age Whether he was a Karmatian, Jew or Infidel,

^{&#}x27;T was hard to pass from the throne to the scaffold"

the Sultan to do away with the ex-Minister—so important was the institution of Wisarat In order to do what he desired, Mas'nd tried so many methods but failed and succeeded only when he shelved the responsibility on the shoulders of a more powerful person in the Muslim world—the Khalifa.* The Hasanak tragedy also shows how unsafe and uncertain life and office of the minister were under the later Ghaznawids.

In this connection we may appropriately point out that in the matter of appointing Appointment his Wazir, Mas'ud pursued the of new Wazir policy of his father. After the death of Ahmad ben Hasan al-Maimandl, he convened a council of his high officials, such as 'Arīz, the Commander of the army, and the Chief Minister of the Ceremonies. In their presence he expressed profound sorrow at the demise of his expressed protonic sortion at the define of his capable and trusted Wazir, paid a glowing tribute to him, spoke highly of his loyalty and love of truth, discipline and devotion to duty, ability and efficiency and then asked them to suggest the name of someone who might prove a suitable successor in the vacant office. After a long discussion, during which several names were suggested and rejected, the choice fell on Abu Nasr Ahmad bin Muhammad bin 'Abdus Samad. who had been the Sahib-i-Diwan of Hartin, the

^{*} Tārīkh-:-Yamīnī (Tehrān edition), 429, and Tārīkh-:-Bashagī. 207

then Governor of Khwārizm He was formally invited and asked to take over the charge of the vacant office.

On his death, the ruler of Mekran left two sons, vis, Isa and Abul 'Asakar, of Conquest of whom the former commanded the Mekran and confidence of the army and the Kırman respect of the people and was therefore successful in asserting his claims Failing to cope with him successfully, the latter personally waited upon Mas'ud and requested him to intervene on his behalf In response to his request. the Sultan put a huge army at the disposal of Abul 'Asakar and ordered it to accompany him. Reaching near Mekran, the Commander of the army conveyed the Imperial message to Isa, calling upon him to make a compromise with his brother, but he paid no heed to it. In the battle that was fought, Isa was killed and most of his men surrendered. Abul 'Asākar took possession of Mekran and, as already agreed to, inserted the name of Mas'ud in the Klutba and the coins, indicating that he was a vassal of the Sultan All this happened in the year 422 A H (=1031 A C).† The same year also witnessed the annexation of Kirman Abū Kālījār bin Sultānud-Daulah was defeated and put to flight by the Imperial army sent against him Kirman was occupied, but was lost again to the Ghaznawids

T F, 1, 41, T M, 177-78

[†] I K, II, $\times 11$, 274-75, T F 1, 41

owing to the slackness of the Hindū army.*

'Ala-ud-Daulah, whom Sultan Mahmud had left with Mas'tid in Isfahan and Rebellion of who had made an unsuccessful at-'Ala-nd-Daulah tempt to carve out an independent kingdom for himself, was putting up with Abū Kalijar in Khozistan after his expulsion from Isfahan in the hope of receiving support from him. As soon as he heard of Mahmud's death. he collected an army, took possession of Isfahan with its help and advanced towards Hamadan with a view to seize Raiy. Mas'tid's governor of that province inflicted a sharp defeat on him and compelled him to retreat to Isfahan. He was pursued thither and reduced to such straits that he withdrew to the fort of Oarohan in mean disguise and took shelter there. After these events Mas'ud's sway was firmly established in Raiy, Jurjan and Tabaristan. On three more occasions 'Ala-ud-Daulah tried to re-establish his authority and recover his lost possessions but failed He was defeated and put to flight on every occasion.†

Majd-ud-Daulah, a former ruler of Isfahan

Majd-ud-Daulah
Daulah
ed state of affairs occasioned by the death of the

^{*} I K. II, xii, 274 ff , T. F , i, 41

[†] I K . II. xu. 275 ff. T F. 1, 41.

Great Sultan and aggravated by the struggle for succession between Mas'ud and Muhammad But he was badly defeated and put to flight by the Governor of Raiy who was entrusted with the command of the army sent against him *

While Mas'ud was involved in the fratricidal war, 'Ailtigin, the ruler of Bukhara, Recovery collected his forces and attacked and loss of Altuntash, the Governor of Khwa-Khwārizm After the new Sultan had rizm firmly established his authority, he sent a huge army to Khwarizm and directed its Governor to lead a punitive expedition against AlitigIn When attacked by the Imperialists, the ruler of Bukharā took to flight and a large part of his territory was occupied by Altuntash After the conquest was completed, Altuntash returned to Khwarizm. On the way he was attacked by the soldiers of 'Alitigin who were lying in ambush and awaiting his return. He turned round and again dispersed Then he called his men together and said that he had received a grievous wound during the last encounter and that it was impossible for him to survive it. A peace was then concluded with 'Alitigin, according to which Bukharā was handed over to Mas'ūd and the territory on the other side of Samarqand was given to Altuntash succumbed to the fatal wound he had received and his post was conferred upon his son, Hārūn, in recognition

^{*} I K., II, xu, 273-74

of his services. 'Abdul Jabbar, who was sent by the Central Government to act as his deputy, could not pull on with him and returned to Ghazuīn where he poisoned the Sultan s mind against his rival. Sultan Mas'nd, without investigating the matter, ordered Shah Malak to proceed against Hartin, and coupled by force Hartin and his brother, Ismail, took to flight and sought safety with Tughral Beg and Datid who, at their request, attacked Khwarizm and took possession of it.*

Sultan Mahmid had constituted Jurjan'r and Tabaristan into a separate province and placed it in charge of a
Ziyarid Prince, called Dārā bin
Mināchir bin Qābā and married one of his
daughters to him. When Mas'nd ascended
the throne, he confirmed Dārā in his possession.
Availing himself of the disturbances in the
Ghaznān at the instigation of 'Ala ud-Daulah
and his firend, Farhād. After quelling the
disturbances of the Turkomans, Mas ād turned
his attention towards Dārā. The Imperial army
defeated the rebellious vassal and occupied
Jurjān in 424-25 A H (=1034 A C) Pursued
from place to place and reduced to utter helplessness, he sought and received royal forgiveness

^{*} I K . II. xu. 279 ff . T. F . 1. 41

[†] Jurjan (ancient Hyrcama) is also called Gurgan in some accounts. Its present capital is Astrabad.

on the condition of paying tribute regularly every year.

When Sultan Mas'ud turned his attention towards India he found that Ariyaraq, Condition who had been put at the helm of affairs of India in India by Sultan Mahmud, had become a perfect autocrat and begun to disobey the Imperial firmans † With seductive wiles and sugar-coated words, he was wheedled out of India by Khwaja Ahmad Hasan and taken to Ghaznin. There he was invited to a drinking feast and made to drink heavily. He was then bound in chains and sent to Ghur and thrown into prison, where he was probably poisoned to death. The wealth he had accumulated during his viceroyalty of India was confiscated friend, Asightigin, t shared his fate soon after-The officer who was next entrusted with the viceroyalty of the Indian Province was Ahmad Niyaltigin, an experienced hand, who had acquired ample knowledge of public affairs

^{*} Vide Z A, 99, T A, 12, E & D, iv, 196, T. F, i, 41, and L H P, ii, 169

T"Secure in possession of a vast territory without any restraining influences, the Ghaznavide Commander of Hind who was an ambitious man by nature—had given proof of his ambitious designs even in the time of Mahmud, but so great was the awe in which that mighty conqueror was held that the plans of Aryarak were never allowed to mature" (M I, 123-24)

[‡] T M, 97, T Y, (Delhi Lith Ed) 281 Sir W Haig wrongly calls him Asaftigin (C H I, iii, 28)

during his service under Mahmud the Great. Khwaja Ahmad Hasan, the Grand Wasir, invested him with the official robes of honour and instructed him to be true to the conditions of the covenant he had entered into with the Sultan. He also advised him not to encroach upon the jurisdiction of the Qazī,* the civil administrator who was a most quarrelsome colleague, to co-operate with the Superintendent of the Intelligence Department, whose duty was to keep the Sultan informed of all that happened in India, and to discharge his duties diligently and honestly. After administering the necessary advice, he addressed him the following warning "You must not say anything to any person respecting the political and revenue matters, so that no one's word may be heard against you, but you must perform all the dutes of the commander, so that the fellow may not be able to put his hand upon your sinews and drag you down." Some of the Dalamite chiefs and head-strong slaves, who had been found guilty of sundry acts of disobedience, were sent with him to India and he was directed to keep a strict watch on their movements and to regulate their social activities in such a manner that they might not be able to create any trouble. Before sending him to India, the Khwaja prevailed upon him to leave his son in Ghaznīn, nominally on the pretext of giving him a suitable education but actually to keep

^{*} His original name was Abul Hasan

him as a hostage so that his father might not have the audacity to rebel. Later when the governor-designate of India waited upon the Suran, the latter addressed him in these words "Anmad, rejoice and be happy; be careful to understand the value of this favour; keep my image ever before your eyes and do good service so that you may attain to great honour." Despite the advice of the Sultan and of the Grand Wasir and the fact that his son was at the mercy of the higher authorities, he too, to quote Baihaqi, "turned away from the path of rectitude and took a crooked course." When he assumed the charge of his office, he found it hard to pull on with his powerful and quarrelsome colleague, Abul Hasan, the Shirazi Qazi, who was a hot-Abul Masan, the Shirazi Qazi, who was a not-headed and arrogant administrator. Since he refused to consult the Qazi in the discharge of his duties, a quarrel ensued between the two and jeopardized the position of the Ghaznawids in India. The dispute related to the appointment of the command of an expedition. It was re-ferred to the Central Government and the Qazi was ordered to mind his own business and not to meddle in military affairs. Soon after that Niyaltigin undertook an expedition against Benares, one of the sacred cities of the Hindus. renowned for its riches all over India and untouched by the spears of the legions of Islam as yet.*

^{*} Abul Fazl (Ain-:-Akbari) has stated that Mahmud twice visited Benäres This statement lacks contemporary confirmation 'Utbi and Gardizi make no mention about

Success greeted the invader who returned laden with immense spoils. The Qazi was shocked to hear of the success of his rival and spared nothing to poison Mas'td's mind against him and to bring him to disprace. He sent his spise to Ghaznin to inform the Sultan that the Viceroy had possessed himself of a vast amount of wealth and begun to behave independently, giving himself out as a son of Sultan Mahmüd. Reports received from various sources confirmed Mas'ad's doubts and he sent against him his Hindu general, Nath, who was defeated and killed. A number of other officers offered their services against the Indian Viceroy, but the choice fell on another Hindu, Tlak,* the son of a barber, who was entrusted

this and all later historians are also silent on the subject Such a silence would have been ignored if the observant Albertini had not made a categorical statement which clearly shows that Mahmud had not seen that "Holj City" Writing in 421 A H (=1030 A C, when Mahmud died) he observes "Hindi sciences have retired far away from those parts of the country which have been conquered by us, and have fied to places which our hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmir, Benfæres and other places " (Sachau, 1, 22) Abul Fazi's evidence in this care cannot overweigh that of Albertini

^{*} There is some confusion about the name, parentage and religion of this general He is called Tulak bin Husain by Ferishta ($T = F_1$, 42), Talak bin Husain by Nizim-ud-Din Ahmad ($T = A_1$, 12), and Tinks on of a barber by Baihaqi ($E \notin D_1$, in, 127) Stull another perversion, vir. Jaisen, is found in some of the MSS of the authorities quoted above Gardizi sates that he was the son of Jahlan ($Z = A_1$, 102). It appears that the words 'Husain' and 'Jaisen' are both mistranscriptions of Jahlan ($Z = A_1$), which

with the command of an army and ordered to proceed against India His arrival at Labore struck terror into the hearts of the supporters of Niyalticin, who left their leader and sought forgive-Deserted by his followers and feeling sure that it was impossible for him to hold out long, NivaltigIn fled for life He was hotly pursued by Tilak's forces, "which consisted mainly of Hindus" and engaged in a fight at night The Turkomans, who were still with him, left him in a body and implored forgiveness. When defeated, he managed to escape from the battle-field and successfully evaded the pursuit party A reward of 500,000 dirhams was fixed for killing him and it was proclaimed that anyone who took his head to Tilak would receive that reward The task was taken up in right earnest by the Jats, who were thoroughly acquainted with the ins and outs of the desert and the wilds They succeeded in tracing him out and bringing him to bay. They assaulted him with arrows, spears and swords. The Turkish blood boiled within him and he defended himself single-handed till he

is an old name frequently found in inscriptions and dynastic lists. (Chromology of India by C. M. Duff, 192, 297). That Tilak was a pure Hindu' admits of no doubt. Bahaqi ($E \in D$, ii, 128) informs us that Tilak rendered a signal service to Mas'ud by bringing all the Hindu Kátors (Thákura) and many outsiders under his swaj. This would have been impossible if he himself had not been a facca Hindu. Tilak alone was not a Hindu who was missel to dignity by the Ghaznawds There were many Hindus who enjoyed such favours and occupied responsible positions under them (See P. P. H. T. 46).

fell fighting in a fresh encounter. The Jats chopped off his head, sent it to Tilak and received from him a reward of 10,000 durhams instead of the promised sum, 500,000 durhams—that too after much haggling. Mas'dd received the news of Tilak's victory with great sausfaction. He sent congratulatory letters to Tilak and expressed great joy over his success.

A reference may appropriately be made to the official career of Tilak. Tilak's rise nally a Hindu of humble origin, he was employed by Sultan Mahmud and promoted to high rank by him in appreciation of his versatile accomplishments. He was a man of handsome appearance and charming manners. Khwaja Ahmad Hasan was literally enamoured of him. He made him his private secretary and employed him as an official inter-preter between the State and the Hindûs A gold-embroidered robe, a jewelled necklace, a fine canopy and a precious parasol were given to him as marks of distinction and kettle-drums were beaten and ensigns of gilded tops were set affoat at his residence as indications of his superiority "Thus", says Dr Ishwari Prasad, "was a Hindu entrusted with an important This elevation of men of humble command... .. birth to high rank on the ground of merit alone was a principle which was invariably followed by Muslim administrators in India."* The

^{*} M. I . 128-29.

elevation of talented Hindus to high posts and positions was not viewed with surprise by the bread-minded Muslims of the day. The philosophal Baihaqi, referring to the rise of Tilak, the expresses himself: "Wise men do not wonder at such facts because no body is born great, men become such. But it is important that they should leave a good name behind."*

Elated by Tılak's success in India and ignoring, consciously or unconsciously, the dangers which seriously threaten-Capture of Hansi and ed the Ghaznawid possessions in the Sonnat west, Mas'ud made up his mind to lead an expedition to the 'Virgin Fort' of Hansi, and thus fulfil the vow which he had once taken during his illness In vain did the Khwaja try to impress upon his mind the impolicy of such a step. "The vow is upon my own person", he said, and, advising his ministers and high officials to co-operate with one another and carry on the business of the State efficiently during his absence, he invested the Khwaja with plenary powers and set out at the head of a huge army in 1037 A C. and reached the town of Hansi after a long and ardnous tourney. The fort was considered as

impregnable by the Hindus, but the Musalmans

^{*} Ibid., 128

[†] The city of Hānsī is situated 11 miles to the east of Hisār It has a ruined castle ~ (Tieffenthaler: Description Historique et Geographique De L'Inde. Vol. 1, p. 134).

laid mines under it at five places, took it by storm within ten days and seized enormous spoils Entrusting the charge of the newly conquered place to a reliable officer, Mas'add advanced against Sonpat,* which was situated in the vicinity of Delhi, and occupied it without experiencing the least opposition from its chief who is said to have fled into the forest at the approach of the invader, leaving behind his treasure which was taken possession of by the Muslim soldiers. After winning these victories and fulfilling his vow, Mas'ad marched back to Ghaznin and gave himself up wholly to drinking and merry-making.†

Hardly had Mas'ud ascended the throne and assumed the reins of government when he found himself confronted with the Saljūq menace. The Saljūqs had begun to make encroachments on the dominions of Sultan Mahmhd towards the close of his reign and disturbed his peace of mind of his death, they began to make inroads into Khirasan and create disturbances at many places. At first they did not attract Mas'ūd's personal attention and his generals were able to establish

^{*} The city of Sonpat is situated to the north of Delhi, not far from it (Ibid, 1, 133)

[†] The Indian expedition, despite the victories won there, proved to be a collosal blunder absence the Saljuge strengthened their position and ultimately established their authority. (Vide infra)

his authority in the refractory provinces of the west, as we have already noted. The peace made by them under their leader, 'Alitigin," with the Ghaznawid Commander, Altuntash.† in 1032 A C proved to be a truce, for they continued to carry their raids into the Ghaznawid Empire The people of the outlying provinces complained against their aggression and Mas ud made up his mind to advance against them in person first attacked Transoxiana and occupied it, but his soldiers suffered enormously on account of snow and cold About that time Balkh was invaded by the Saljugs under their leader, Daud. Post-haste the Sultan proceeded towards Balkh. In his absence Tughral Beg, the Saljuq, attacked and plundered Ghaznīn-When the Sultan reached Balkh, Dand marched back to Marv. After restoring law and order in Balkh, Herat and Nishāpur, he turned his attention towards Tughral Beg. At Dandangan he was confronted by the Turkomans. Deserted by many of his followers, including an Indian army, Mas'ud suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of his enemies on the 23rd of March, 1040 A C.1 He marched

⁷ Dr Ishwari Prasad (M I., 132) calls him Alaptagin, but does not cite his authority See I K., II, xii, 279 ff and T F. 1, 41, where his name is given as 'Alitzgin

[†] Dr Ishwari Praead calls him Illutimish (*Ibid*) without mentioning his authority See I.K., II, xii, 279 ff and T.F., i, 47, where his name is written as Altuntash

¹ Authorities are at variance about the date as well as the place of this battle

Date .- Three dates are most frequently found, vis,

back to Marv and then proceeded to Ghaznin via Ghūr. Far from being able to raise an army strong enough to stem the rising tide of the Saljūqs, he could not now quell the disturbances that cropped up about Ghaznin Place after place slipped away from his possession in rapid succession and he was constrained to concentrate his attention on India Eventually he decided to withdraw towards India In vain again did the Khwāja insist on his stay at the capital and remind him of the detrimental consequences of his obstinacy.*

^{430, 431} and 432 A H. I have preferred the second, $t \in C$, 431 (= 1040 A C), because it is based on better and more reliable sources, vis, T M, 777, T N, 1, 92, $E \in D$, vv, 198, and T F, 1, 43.

Placet The author of the Tabqat-..Nasrri [E & D.], 273 locates the site of the battle at Talqqin and he has been followed by many modern writers, including Sir What [C & A.]. The more authoritative opinion, however, is in favour of Dandanqin Gardiri [Z A., 25 of B I S.), and Ferishta [T F.], 43) all locate the battle-field at the latter place It is also called Dandaiquin in some MSS It has been described by Abul Frida as a small town of Nburfishin, famous for its cotton fabrics It is about forty miles north-west of Mart-ur-Rud or Martchak (Mart--Kuchak) on the Martchak-Sarahkh Road. The town of Talqqin is about fifty miles south-east of Mart-ur-Rud or Talqqin is about fifty miles for the state of the transfer of the state o

^{*} The Khwāja's prognostication proved only too true. Subsequent events testified to the soundness of his advice and showed that Mas'ud's fears were ill-founded and his

After appointing Maudūd to the government of Balkh, Majdūd to that of Multān and Amīr Izad to that of Ghaznīn and making other necessary arrangements, Mas'ūd proceeded towards India bag and baggage. Hardly had he crossed the Indus and reached Marīgala * when his own guards, consisting of Turkish and Hindū slaves, robbed him of the treasure he was carrying with him on the backs of camels Then followed a wild confusion and a general mutiny of the army While Mas'ūd was taken prisoner and sent to the fort at Girī,† his brother Muhammad, whom he had blinded before his accession, was brought out

flight from Ghaznin was an act of folly and not of wisdom, for the Saljuqs were pre-occupied with the conquest of Persia and adjoining places and Ghaznin was immune from their attacks (Vide Chapter IX)

Marīgala (or Marīkala, as it is in some MSS) is a pass situated between Attock and Rāwalpindī, a few miles east of Hasan Abdāl Alberūnī (Sachau, 1, 302) identifies it with Takashshila (Taxila) "The name is preserved in that of a pass and a range of hills about two miles to the south of Shāhdherī and a few miles east of Hasan Abdāl" (A G I, 111, T N, Raverty's Translation, 95 note, and S I M H, 193-94)

i This place has not been satisfactorily identified and its site is not precisely located. In his Notes on Afghāmistān, p 131 note, Raverty identifies it with Gibarkot in Kunar (Kāfiristān). From the text of T M (E & D, 11, 273) it appears that it was not far from Marīkala or Marīgala where Mas'ūd's treasure was looted by his own guards. Professor Hodivala's postulation that it must be Girī, i e Shāhbāz Girī or Kāpar da Garī, which is situated in the district of Mardān about 40 miles east of

and put on the throne Being blind, Muhammad could not conduct and control the affairs of the government personally. He therefore delegated his powers to his son, Ahmad, one of whose early acts was to put an end to the life of the deposed hing * Muhammad, who was unaware of all this, is said to have cursed the perpetrators of the cruze.

Mas'ud followed with great wisdom and group the illustrious traditions of his talented father. He selected his under Mas'ud. Wasi'ın the same way as his father.

He was also in the habit of consulting his ministers and seeking their advice on all important matters, though he did always follow their advice. Fortunately for him his ministers were not mere mediocres or flatterers: They were men of courage, character and culture who never hesitated to disagree with or even oppose him whenever they thought he was following a wrong course. His decisions to lead an expedition against Hansi and to leave Ghaznin for India were openly opposed by the Khwaja, and on the second occasion he was reminded of the disastrous consequences of the

Peshawar does not seem to be far from the mark (S I II H. 194-95)

^{*} This was in the year 433 A. H. (=1041-42 A. C.). In his Hubb-in-Styār Khwandmir confirms this (E & D, r., 198) Minhāj-us-Sirāj (T N) puts it in the year 432 \ H which is apparently incorrect.

[†] T F. 1. 44.

Indian expedition. It must, however, be recorded to his credit that though he over-ruled his ministers, ignored their advice, turned down their proposals and had his own way, he never lost his balance or sense of proportions and never subjected them to any punishment or humiliation on that account In fact, we do not come across a single instance in which he punished or even reproached his ministers for opposing his proposals * The ministers of Mas'ūd, moreover, exercised full powers in the revenue and financial departments of the Central Government and managed the administrative affairs of the outlying provinces of the Empire independently without the least fear of incurring royal wrath or losing their office. They had complete control over the auditors, accountants and treasurers, and the wardrobe, elephant and horse stables and slaves were under their supervision. In short, everything that was required for the dignity of the Crown was to be provided under their instructions and orders † Above all, they enjoyed full regal powers in the absence of the king when he happened to be out on an expedition Khwaja Ahmad, to quote one instance, was easily accessible to all and sundry and his advice was sought and allowed full weight by the Sultan in the appointment of important officials of the State, Under the guidance and influence of the Khwaja

⁺ T B_{*} 266, 347, 312-13, 319-21, S A M. A, 170. See also supra, pp 203, 206

[†] T. B, 181 See also supra pp. 186-89.

the institution of Wizarat gained a great deal in power and prestige. This was because he very jealously safeguarded its dignity. He was the first Wasir who flatly refused to accept that office as long as the Sultan did not define his jurisdic-tion and describe his powers in writing. After a long discussion on the question, which was carried on in black and white, the Sultan found no alternative but to fall in with his proposal. If that practice had been followed by others, the institution of Wisarat would have gained great strength and stability and paved the way for the establishment of a constitutional monarchy.†

Patronage of learning and promotion of Advention

Like his father. Mas'ūd too was a great patron of learning and a zealous protector of the learned Among the celebrated scholars, who flourished under his patronage and dedicated their works to him, may be mention-

ed Abu Rihan Alberuni. 1 and Abu Muhammad

[&]quot; See supra, pp 186-87

[†] For a discussion on the subject, see S. A. M. A. 156 ff

[!] We have had an occasion to refer to the literary attanments of Albertini (See supra, pp 114-16) Dr E C Sachau, who has translated two of his works, calls him "a champion of the truth, a sharply cut character of a highly individual stamp, full of real courage and not reframing from dealing hard blows when anything which is good or right seems to him to be at stake" and says that "if in these days a man began studying Sanskrit and Hindû karning with all the help afforded by modern literature and science many years would pass before he

Nashi. From the literary works of Abn Rilian we derive a good deal of information about the progress of Arabic as well as Persian literature under his direct encouragement authority further informs us that Indian mathematics, astronomy, philosophy, astrology, pharmacology, medicine and Greek sciences were sedulously studied by inquisitive Muslim scholars and that a number of Indian as well as Greek works were translated into Arabic and Persian. "During his reign" says Khwandmir, the author of the Rausaturs-Safa," soo many colleges, mosques and religious edifices were built in the various parts of his dominions that it is impossible to enumerate them."

Sultan Mas'ud was endowed with uncommon physical power The contemporary historian, Baihaqi, informs us that he wielded a mace, weighing twenty mans and that in a hand to hand fight

would be able to do justice to the antiquity of India to such an extent and with such a degree of accuracy as al-Birdin has done in his Indica? Albertini was indeed a literary giant with a prodignous brain power For? also the distribution of the such as the such as the such as a support of the such as the such as the such as the such as the Indica as the such as the such as the such as the such as the indicate the such as the such as

^{*} B & D, 1v, 138-39 The testimony of Khwandmir is supported by Ferishta who says "In the beginning of hir yeign Mas'ud built many mosques and endowed several colleges which he caused to be erected in the different cities of his dominifors" (T P. 1.4 M).

with a tiger he smashed the skull of the beast with a single blow * Fond of drinking and music, he frequently resorted to the Firozi Garden, his father's most favourite pleasure-resort, and sat there under a green pavilion, surrounded by his servants. After reviewing the forces, he used to sit down with his favourite friends to a sumptuous feast, which was invariably accompanied by music and drinking Obstinate and self-willed, full of ambition and adventurous spirit, he was wellknown for his valour and war-like zeal. He was so brave and outspoken that once he offended his father by strongly supporting the maxim that 'kingdom belongs to the longest sword'. He was a magnificent prince During his reign the Ghaznawid Court retained the splendour it enloved under Mahmud the Great. He used to consult his ministers on all matters of moment and sought their advice. He did not put them to harm even when they turned down his proposals and he had to over-rule them.

^{*} T M, 141 'Twenty mans' seems to be an exaggeration. Fereshta seems to be correct when he says "Vas' dd's mace was so heavy that no one else could lift it up with a single hand" (T F, 1, 40)

⁷ Dr Tripathi, who has discussed the point at length,

[&]quot;In most cases the Sultan overruled them (ministers) and had his own may which ultimately brought him to a sad end But no minister is known to have been driven out of office or penalized or even fallen from the Sultan's estimation for having opposed his proposals" (S A M S. 170)

CHAPTER IX

SULTAN MAUDUD & HIS SUCCESSORS

When Mas'tid was murdered under the orders of Ahmad son of Muham-Mandad. mad, his son Maudūd was away at Balkh. As soon as Maudud heard the sad news of the execution of his father. he vowed to wreak woeful vengeance on the murderers and marched post-haste to the Imperial Capital at the head of his army. In an encounter at Nagarhar* he inflicted a crushing defeat on his rivals and put most of them to death He also slew his uncle, Muhammad. and all his sons except 'Abdur Rahim whom he spared because he had shown some consideration to Mas'ud during his captivity. On the site where he won victory over his rivals he founded a town called Fatehabad or "Town of Victory" and built a big rest-house there for

^{*} The author of the Tabaßi--Näsiri (E & D., 11, 274) calls it Takathatrd which Sir Henry Elliot has wrongly identified with Bakhrila (Und., foot-note) Takathatrd is a miswriting of Nagarhat (Us 5)ce Nagrahar, which is said to be the old name of a town and a district in 'Mghānistan, situated near modern Jalilābād (G D A. M. A. s. n.) Baihaqi locates the site of the battle in Dinár, which is also written as Deptr and Dunpur. Professor Hodwala suggests that the last two names are the forms of Udayanapura and that the town all survives under the name 'Adināpur', which is represented by Bālābāgh, 12 miles from modern Jalālābād (S. I-M H.) 195). Nagraharas is also written as Nagnahār

the comfort and convenience of travellers."

Soon after his accession to the throne of Ghazalin, Maudud made Abū Nasr bin Ahmad Abdus Samad his Wasir, but dismissed him in 1041 A. C and threw him in prison where he met his death The next man who was honoured with the dignit; was Khwāja Abū Tāhir bin Mastaufi Tāhir enjoyed that dignit; till 1044 A. C when the vacancy was filled by Khwāja Abdu Fateh Abdur Razzāq bin Ahmad bin Hasan al-Maimandi The last named remained in office till the close of Maudud's reign. †

Maudud next turned his attention towards India Nami, the then Governor of the Punjab appointed by Muhammad, was defeated and slain

in some accounts, but the more authoritative opinion is in favour of the former Nangarhar and Nek-nahar seem to be later corruptions (Ibid.)

^{*} T N in E & D, ii, 273-74, T M, 867, and T F, 1,40. The town of Fatch bad has continued to our own times It is situated some four miles south of Balibagh (Masson Journeys to Balochistan etc., 184)

The active interference of the Wasir in the matter of succession occasioned bitter hostitities actainst him and journstired his position, rendering long enjournent of power ever time. Placed bitties the devil and the deep sea the Jerlouwies of the nobles and the suspicions of the Sultain,—he found himself in a most awkward power of the country of the nobles and the suspicions of the Sultain,—he found himself in a most awkward power of the country of the nobles and the suspicions of the Sa Jil A 173-741

hv Abu Nasr Ahmad bin Muhammad, the new G vinor appointed by the new Sultan and S in to India for the purpose. But Mauddd's brother, Maiddd, whom his father had appointed to the government of the Indian Province had captured Thanesar and was now at Hansi, seiking an opportunity to attack Delhi On receipt of information that his brother had sent an army against him, Majddd lost no time in returning to Lahore He reached there on July 27, 1042 A C and was found dead in his bed on the morning of the 30th, one or two days after the arrival of Maudad's army. The cause of his death is shrouded in mystery. What it was due to—heat-stroke, heart-failure or some rapidly fatal disease or the secret agency of his brother—is a matter of speculation.*

At the time of Maudid's accession the Recovers of to the onslaught of the Saljūqs, Transouma but as good luck would have it, their attention, almost wholly occupied elsewhere, was not drawn towards Ghaznin. The victorious Saljūqs divided their newly conquered territory into four minor kingdoms under the suzerainty of Tughral Beg. While Tughral Beg hastened

^{*} Majdud had proved himself a capable commander and an energotic officer during his viceroyalty of the Indian Province and it appeared "probable that the troops sent against him by his brother would declare for him Under the circumstances, it is not wholly unsafe to say that Maydud's agents had been at work (C. H. 1, 11, 32)

to complete the conquest of western Persa and was occupied in the capture of Baghdad and the overthrow of the Roman Empire at the head of the main forces of his tribe, Abū 'Alī, another adventurer, who had attained to the sovereignty of Herat, Sistan and Ghūr, was left to struggle with the Ghaznawids for asserting his own sovereignty. Mauodd married the daughter of Chaqar Beg. The marriage was responsible for establishing friendly relations between the Sultan and the Saljūqs Thus it was that Mauddd was able to maintain his position at Ghaznin and to recover Transoxiana.†

While the Sultan was occupied in the west, Malipal, the Raja of Delhi, took advantage of his absence from India and over-ran the Punjab, then an important province of the Ghaznawid Empire On this occasion the Raja successfully appealed to the superstition of the Hindias and revived their spirits by convincing them that their Deota (deity) was pleased with them and would help them in driving the Muslims out of India ‡

^{*} In some accounts he is also called Chaghar Beg. Ferishta calls him Ja'far Beg Saljūqi (T F, 1, 44). He seems to have followed I K (II, xii, 291)

[†] De Guignes Vol., n. p. 190, and H. J., 301-302, 2. Here is a brief description of the detice. The Raja of Delhi culled together his counters and informed them that in a dream at night the Do'ré (detty) of Nacaskot had told him that he had stayed at Ghaznin so long simply for the sake of branging should be the down-fall of the Ghiznawais.

With the help of the neighbouring Rajas he was able to take possession of Hansi, Thanesar and Nagarkot and to lay siege to Lahore. But for the bravery of the Muslim garrison, the fate of the last fort of Musalmans in India would have been sealed. The successful defence was due to the report, regarding the approach of the Suitan with a large army, which was later known to have been a mere ruse, and

in Central Asia, that he had accomplished that task and was now anxious to overthrow the Ghaznawid power in India is well, and that the Hindas should make common cause and expel the Musalmans from the fort of Naparkot, so that he might return to his previous abode. The Rapa's vords were taken for Gospel truth and a wave of enthusiasm ran through the hearts of the Hindus Taking into his confidence some expert architects and a clever Brahman, the Run managed to set up at night in a garden in the neighbourhood of Nagarkot a replier of the idol transported to Chaznin by Sult in Mahmad and set affort the news that it had come there by a muscle. Next morning the idol attracted the notice of the people who hailed it with joy mingled with surprise Princes with valuable presents. poured in from many places and paid homage to it Run of Delhi also paid a visit to it barefooted. To every. one who visited it, the Brahman in charge said that the Deota had ordered the Hindes to expel the Musalmans from the fort of Nararkot by force and take possession Thus inspired and invigorated, the Hindus prepared themselves for the fight and volunteered themselves in large numbers. While the volunteers swelled the ranks of the Ran's army, the presents offered to the Deola by the votaries immensely aurmented the resources of war The result of this Machiavellian device was that the Musalmans who occupied a fortified position, were defeated and driven out (For details, see $T \Gamma_1$, 45).

partly to the fact that the Musalmans, who had hitherto subdued the Himnus, disdamed the very thought of being defeated by them The Raja and his confederates were defeated, put to flight and pursued to saie distances in 1048 A. C. Maudud appointed his sons, Mansur and Mahmud, to the governments of Peshawar and Lahore respectively and also sent Abu 'Ali Hasan, the Kotwal of Ghaznin, to India "to curb the aggression of the Hindus" The Kotwal was well known for his sternness He acquitted himself creditably and successfully accomplished the task he was entrusted with. On his return to Ghaznin, however, he fell a victim to an intrigue and suffered imprisonment, where he met his death.*

We have referred to Maudud's successes in Campaign against the Saligos Saligos were occupied elsewhere

We may now revert to that subject and describe his wars with the Saljūgs who had begun to overrun the Ghaznawid provinces, so much so that even his matrimonial connection with the Saljūq leader proved of little use. In 1042 A. C he launched a campaign against them, which continued to the close of his reign. At first the task of reducing them to submission was entrusted to Artigit who defeated them and

^{*} T Γ , 1, 44-46, I K , Π $\propto n$, 291-3, and C, H, I , m, 32-33

occupied Balkh and had the Khutba read in the name of the Sultan. Not long after their defeat they again appeared in the neighbourhood of Balkh in such large numbers that Aritigin was constrained to apply for reinforcements, which were not sent for some unknown reasons. The result was that the Saljuqs overran Balkh and came as far as Ghaznīn with a view to overthrow the Ghaznawid domination But they were again defeated and put to flight by the Imperial forces sent against them In 1044 A C. the Sultan sent another officer to Bust The latter reached Sistan and brought it under the sway of the Sultan. Next year the Saliugs again raised their heads. They advanced on Ghaznīn and when they reached near Bust they were opposed by its Governor, named Tughral * After a pitched and bloody battle, in which numerous lives were lost, the Saljuqs suffered a terrible defeat and took to their heels subdued Qusdar also and brought a number of

^{*} Tughral was a slave and servant of Sultān Mahmūd He was appointed Commander of the troops of Khurāsān by Maudūd Brave, outspoken, freedom-loving and adventurous, he tried to carve out an independent kingdom for himself He contracted friendly relations with the Saljūqs and rebelled against the Sultān When defeated and driven out, he went over to the Saljūqs and joined forces with them against the Ghaznawids He should not be confused with Tughral Beg the Saljūq Sir W Haig says that "he does not appear to have been acting, in his rebellion, as an agent of the Saljūqs" on the ground that "his successes appear to have included some victories over the Saljūqs" (C H I, 111, 34)

prisoners to Ghaznin. In 1016 A C he was again sent to Bust, but this time he showed signs of rebellion and was therefore defeated and put to flight by an officer sent against hm.* The same year also witnessed the subjugation of Ghūr by Bastiglin, who was entrusted with that work. Since he distinguished himselt as a commander in the expedition against Ghur, he was selected to lead the Imperial forces against the Saljugs Success greeted him and he was able Saljūga Success greeted him and ne was anie to disperse the hordes of his enemy. In 1017 A C the Amir of Qusdar rebelled; but when attacked, he fled and sought forgiveness, which was not grudged. The Saljūg nenace was still there and now the Sultan decided to end it by conducting the campaign against the Saljuqs in person, but he had a sudden attack of cohe in the fort of Sialkot, where he had gone to take possession of the treasure that was there with a ties to finance the expedition against the Saljūgs without experiencing any difficulty. When the disease took a serious turn and the pain became acute, he dropped the idea and returned to Ghaznotice, he display the campaign against the Saljuqs to his Wazir, 'Abdur Razzaq IIe succumbed to the fatal disease on the 22nd of December, 1049 A C. He enjoyed a brief but busy rugn of about eight years.†

The name of this officer as given by Perishta is 'Ali bin Khidim Rabi (T F. 1, 40)

¹ I K. II, xii, 291, 293, and T F. i. 15-47

On the death of Maudūd his son Abū Ja'far
Mas'ūd, who was then four years
of age, was proclaimed king in
accordance with the will of his father
and his mother began to exercise the powers of
regency But this arrangement, made by 'Alī
bir Khādim Rabī', was set aside by the nobles of
Ghaznīn, led by Bastigīn, who were not consulted
in the matter of succession The successful
party deposed the young king and raised his
uncle, Abul Hasan 'Alī, to the throne of Ghaznīn.
The minor had a reign of a few days '

Abul Hasan 'Alī enjoyed a brief reign of two years † At his accession 'Alī bin Khādim Rabī', who had identified himself with the cause of the minor king, collected as much of wealth as he could and fled to Peshāwar with a party of nobles and slaves on account of fear There he reduced the

The duration of his reign is a subject of controversy According to Minhāj-us-Sirāj $(T \ N \ 10)$, it was two months Hamdullah Mastaufi $(T \ G, 40)$, says that it extended over two years Ibn Khaldūm $(I \ K, II, xii, 293)$ says that it lasted for 5 days Ferishta $(T \ F, i \ 46)$ says that Mas'ūd II ruled for five or six days. It is difficult to give the precise duration of his reign, but it can be safely said that it did not exceed a month at the most $(Vide \ Raverty's \ translation \ of \ T \ N, 97, f \ n \ 4, T \ A, 31, and <math>K \ T, \infty)$

[†] Mınhāj-us-Sırāj's statement (T N, 16) that Mas'ūd II and 'Alī exercised joint sovereignty does not seem to be correct, for the arrangement was most unlikely (See Raverty's translation of T N, 97, f n 4)

Afghans to submission and established his sway over the territory as far as Multan and Sind The Suitan sent for his brothers, Marcai Shah and Izad Shah, and honoured them He resorted to a lavish distribution of wealth in order to win the good-will of the people, but it served no purpose. His uncle, 'Abdur Rashid, came to Ghaznin, decosed him and ascended the throne '

The first thing that 'Abdur Rashid † did after ascending the throne was to after ascending the throne was to effect the arrest of Abul Hasan, who had run away at his arrival and to imprison him in a fort. Next he turned his attention towards India. First he won over 'All bis 'Khādim Rabl' to his side and then sent Nūshirgin to take over the government of Lahore. He was accompaned by an army of distinguished soldiers. Within a counce of days he recovered Nagarkot or Kangra, which the Hindus had occupied during the recent troubles, and established his authority in the Punjab. Shortly afterwards, the chief, Tughral' the Ingrate', who

^{*} T F, 1, 46-47, and I K, II, va., 293.

[†] According to Ferishta, Sultán 'Abdur Rashid was a son of Sultán Mahmud and was confined in a fort between Bust and Isfarain by Maudid The same authorits further informs us that Maudid had made a will in supprit of his succession during his file-time. It is, however not explained why he was imprisoned by the same man's ho had made a will in his fatour or why the will was made to be he was not on good terms with him (Vade T 1, 47).

had been sent to Sistan to reduce it to submission, revolted and began to mature plans for the conjuest of Ginazin. The conquest of Sistan had place decough of the sinews of war at his disposel, and he boldly advanced with his army and it hieted a defeat on 'Abdur Rashid and entered Ghazini in trumphant procession *

The victorious rebel crowned himself at Ghazini and slaughtered 'Abdur Rashi'd as well as all other princes of Mahmid's family who happened to fall into the his hands He contracted Nikah with Mas'id's daughter and sent sugar-coated compliments to Nüshitgin Karkhi, who had set out from Lähore and reached Peshawar in obedience to the orders of Sultan 'Abdur Rashid, While making a reply to his letter, Nüshitgin sent secret instructions to Mas'ud's daughter, asking her to put an end to the life of Tughral. He also sent similar instructions to the adherents of the cause of Mahmid's family. The result was that their sense of honour and loyalty was touched

^{*} I. K. II. xii, 294-95, T F. 1, 47 When inquired as to how he entertained the ambition to rule, Tugfrad calmly made the following reply "At the time that 'Abdur Rashid was sending me forth to do battle against Alp Arslân and Dātd, and was giving me my instructions and had placed his hand in mine, terror had overcome him to that degree, that I could hear his very bones rattling from the state of trembling he was in I knew this pusillammous man was incapable of sovereignty, and the ambition of reigning entered my heart" (T N, 100, and T. F. 1, 47)

and they all made up their mind to put the usurper to death. On the eventful day of Nauroz, when Sultan Mahmud had ascended the throne, they actually succeeded in murdering Tughral, who had a reign of only forty days.*

A few days after this event Nüshtigin arrived Farrukhzad. In Ghaznin. He called together the grandees of Ghaznin and made a search for the surviving descendants of Subuktigin Three princes were found as prisoners in different forts. They were Farrukhzād,† Ibrāhīm and Shujā' The choice fell on the first-named and he was forthwith raised to the throne and pioclaimed king. At his accession in 1052 A. C, Farrukhzād entrusted the administrative machinery of the kingdom to Nüshtigīn, who was decidedly the most devoted votary of the descendants of Mahmūd. Buoyed up with the hopes of retrieving the fallen fortunes of his

 $^{^{1}}$ T G, 403, and T F, 1, 47.

[†] For Farrukhzād, see Coins of the Ghazin Kings, Nos 97 and 98 Some authorities have omitted the name of this king from the list of the Sultāns of Ghazinin He preceded Ibrāhīm and followed 'Abdur Rashīd—a fact which is established by numismatic evidence. The Persian authorities, it may be noted here, are at variance in regard to the list of the Ghazinawid kings and I have, therefore, relied upon numismatic evidence, which is the safest and most reliable course (C O C in B M, 12, 234). According to Khwāndmīr (R S) Sultān Farrukzād was the son of Mas'ūd and according to Hamdullah Mastaufī (T G) he was the son of 'Abdur Rashīd (See T F, 1, 48).

family by recovering the lost provinces of Ghaznīn, he plunged himself into a life-long struggle with his hereditary enemies, the Saljuqs. Taking advantage of the disturbances at Ghaznin. Chaqar Beg Dāūd undertook an expedition against Ghaznīn On hearing of his approach, Nüshtigin set out with his forces and in a hotly contested battle, which lasted from sunrise till sunset, he dispersed the Saljuqs and won a decisive victory, which immensely enhanced the prestige of the House of Ghaznin. Next he led an army against Khurāsān, where, in an encounter with the Saljugs, headed by Kalisarag, defeated them and took their leader and many others prisoners. The progress of the Ghaznawid arms was, however, arrested by the rising genius of Alp Arslan who was sent by his father, Chaqar Beg Daud, after the defeat of Kalisaraq Arslan won an indecisive victory and then retired A peace-treaty was then concluded and faithfully observed by the parties A plot was hatched against Farrukhzād by his slaves, who, one day, entered the Humman where he was and attacked him. The Sultan drew out his sword and defended himself successfully. He put the assailants to the sword but did not long survive the incident He died of colic in 1059 A C. after a reign of six years His Wazīrs were Hasan bin Mehrān and Abū Bakr bin Sāleh.*

 $^{^{\}prime\prime}$ K T , λ , 2 ff , T N in E \mathcal{E} D , ii, 276 ff , I K., II, κ_{11} , 297-298 (translator's note), and T F , 1, 47-48

Farrukhzād was succeeded by his brother, lbrāhīm, who was 'a professed Ibrahim. devotee', endowed with a rare sense of justice, piety and kindness. The new Sultan renewed the peace-treaty with the Saljuqs and in order to harmonize his relations with them still further, he arranged a marriage between his son, Mas'ūd, and the daughter of Malak Shāh, son of Alp Arslan After establishing friendly relations with the Saljūqs, Ibrāhīm turned his attention towards India with a view to conquer the hitherto unconquered places. In 1079 A C he personally went there and captured the forts of Ajūdhan (Pāk Patan) and Rūpāl and some other places, displaying great wisdom and valour during the campaign. On his return he brought with him a vast amount of booty and a large number of prisoners to Ghaznīn. Ibrāhīm is rightly said to have been a great king. He set in order the machinery of administration which was completely out of gear and "fully established the authority of the Crown over the recalcitrant tribes" According to Qāzī Mīnhāj, "the affairs of the empire of the Great Mahmūd assumed fresh vigour during his reign." As a man of learning, piety and peaceful disposition, he passed most of his time in making copies of the Qur-ān and practising the art of penmanship. He was a great lover of learning and a liberal patron of leaters. letters. He is said to have been the author of a book called Dastur-ul-Wuzarā On his death,

^{*} The Dastur-ul-Wuzara was a "Hand Book of

which took place on the 25th of August, 1099 A C be left a number of sons and daughters.†

I brahlm was succeeded by a man of more Mrz ud III merits and morals. At his accession the new king, 'Alâ-ud-Daulah Mas'ud III, connrimed the servants of the State appointed by his predecessor in their respective poets and positions. He married the sister of Sultan Sanjar and thus ensured the security of his kingdom against the inroads of the Saljūqs. Peace with the Saljūqs enabled him to turn his attention towards India. He appointed his general, Tughatigin, as the Sapah-Salar or Commander of the forces of Lahore. The said general set out, crossed the Ganges and reached a place which no Muslim, except Mahmüd, had yet touched After raiding a number of places, he returned to Lahore \(^1\) While his general was winning victories for him, the Sultan himself revised the

Political Science" meant for the guidance of ministers in the art of administration It is one of the 93 works drawn upon by Awfi (Vide J. H. 67-68, 224)

^{*} E & D, II, 510, J H, 67-68, 224, J K, II, xII,

^{298 (}translator's note), and T. F., 1, 49-50.

† T G, 404, and T. N, 21 Ferishta (T F, 1, 49)
and Nizām-ud-Din Ahmad (T A, 17) give 481 A H as

well as 492 A H as the dates of Sultan Ibrahim's death, but do not say which of the two dates is correct Numismutic evidence testifies to the correctness of the second, i c 492 A H.—1099 A C (Vide J. R A S, 1x, 361.64) I Another important event of his reign was the

appointment of a Ghaznawid officer, Husain ban Sam as governor of Ghūr—a fact which incidentally shows

laws and crystallized them into a consistent code. He proved himself a good administrator and enjoyed a peaceful reign of sixteen years, during a major part of which his Court resided at Lahore.

Mas'ūd III died in 1115 A. C. and was succeeded by his son, Kamāl-ud-Daulah Sherzād† who had not yet completed the first anniversary of his reign when he was deposed and killed by his brother, Arslan Shāh Abul Mulūk‡ who

that the principality of Ghūr was still under the sway of the Ghaznawids

^{&#}x27; T F, 1, 49, I K, II, v11, 298-99 (Tr's note)

[†] Some historians have omitted the name of this king from the list of the Ghaznawid Sultans There is no justification for it. He is mentioned by Hamdullah Mastaufi (T G), Ferishta (T F, 1, 49) and Khwandmir (E E D, 12, 206). The chronological chain of the Ghaznawid kings loses one of its links if his name is excluded from it

also threw into prison all of his other brothers, except Bahrām Shāh who, when escaped, went to Sultān Sanjar and invoked his help * Sanjar was at that time in charge of Khurāsān as a viceroy of his brother, Muhammad Sultān bin Malak Shāh. When Arslān Shāh learnt of all this, the wrote a letter to Sultān Sanjar about Bahrām Shāh and tried to appease him, but failed to achieve his object Sanjar took up the cause of Bahrām and proceeded against Ghaznīn On hearing this, Arslān Shāh sent a messenger to Muhammad Sultān and requested him to dissuade his brother from prosecuting his plan When this also led to nothing useful, Arslān Shāh sent his mother, the Saljūqian princess, with 200,000 dīnārs and other valuable presents to her brother, Sultān Sanjar, to pacify him. The

like to style himself 'Abdul Mulūk or "Servant of Kings". Sir W Haig's conjecture lacks all authority and must be dismissed as beside the mark Elliot's conjecture—that the word is 'Abul Malik' is a good shot, near the mark but not exactly in the bull's eye Mirzā Muhammad Qazvīnī has it as 'Abul Mulūk' (J R A S, 1905, 720) Professor Hodivala also is in its favour (S I-M H, 198) It appears that the middle of "ابرلياري" has been left out by the scribe Abul Mulūk or "Father of Kings" is therefore the most sensible restoration of Arslān's title

^{*} The exact date of Sultān Arslān's accession is given in no work, but it is preserved in a qasida of Mas'ūd-1-Sa'd-1-Salmān, for which see Mirzā Muhammad Qazvīnī in J R A S, (1905, p 705), where it is given as the 6th of Shawwāl, 511 A H, which corresponds to the 23rd February, 1116 A C.

lady, who was so deeply incensed by the murders of her sons and the insult to which he had subjected her, poured forth the long-pent-up grievances before her brother and thus aggravated the crisis.' Sultān Sanjar advanced with his forces and Arslān Shāh also came out to receive him in the battle-field. In the battle that was fought, Sanjar won a decisive victory and Arslän Shäh fled towards India. After a stay of 40 days in Ghaznīn, Sanjar went back, leaving Bahrām in possession of Ghaznīn. On hearing of his departure from Ghaznīn, Arslān Shäh raised an army in India and proceeded towards it. On his arrival Bahrām withdrew to the fort of Bāmiān and remained there till he was restored to the throne by Sanjar. Arslan Shah was arrested and made over to Bahrām Shāh who put him to death. Thus came to an end a most troubled reign of about three years. (1115—18 A C)†

⁴ Bahrām is said to have asked his step-mother, the Saljūqian princess, to dance before him and that is supposed to have drawn down upon him the wrath of her brother, Sultān Sanjar $(M \ I)$.

[†] K T, χ , 179, T F, 1, 49-50; and I K, II, χ_{II} , 299-300 (Tr's note) The date of Arslān's death as given by Minhāj-us-Sirāj is 511 (T N) and as given by Ibn-ul-Asīr is 512 A H (K T, χ 179) The difference is due to the fact that Minhāj-us-Sirāj has left out Sherzād, who followed Mas'ūd III and preceded Arslān and whose reign lasted for some months. Ibn-ul-Asīr's evidence is, therefore, to be preferred

Since Bahrām owed his success to the support of the Saljūqs, the influence of Bahram Shah the latter in the governmental affairs of Ghaznīn was bound to increase by leaps and bounds. Nevertheless, the relations between them and the Sultān of Ghaznīn continued to be harmonious. But for the bitter hostilities of the Maliks of Ghūr, in which he was constantly involved and to which we shall presently revert, Bahrām's reign would have been glorious.

Soon after ascending the throne, Bahrām turned his attention towards the Rebellion Indian Province, which was then of Indian held by Bahlim, an officer appointed Governor. by Arslan Shah He took an army against the said officer, defeated him and took him to Ghaznīn as a prisoner, but restored him to his previous dignity and sent him again to India some time later In his absence the same officer conquered Nagaur (in Swālīk), left his family there and then launched upon a career of conquests Having collected a large army, he raided a number of places and possessed himself of immense wealth. The wealth thus amassed widened the horizon of his ambitions and he now aspired for the sovereignty of an independent kingdom Bahram again marched against him in person and in a battle that was fought the rebellious governor disappeared and was seen no more * After appointing Sālār Husain son of

^{*} According to Minhāj-us-Sirāj (T N in E & D, ii, 280), Bahlim and his ten sons fell into a quagmire on the

Ibrāhīm 'Alwī as the Sipāh-Sālār of the Indian Province and introducing other necessary changes, the Sultān returned to Ghaznīn. '

We may now revert to the struggle between the Ghaznawids and the Ghūrids for political supremacy in Afghānistān. The Ghūrids, it should be recalled, had fought faithfully under the banner of Sultān Mamūd and established their reputation as first-rate warriors. But when the sceptre passed into the hands of mere mediocres, they became lukewarm, even cold, in their allegiance to the Ghaznawid Sultān and treated him with scant courtesy.† The matters became more

day of the battle [See Dowson's note (Ibid) and S I-M H, 198-99] Dowson says that there are some unintelligible words in the original. The words in question are "كرر وملى المالة" According to Richardson's Dictionary, "در وسلى " means "a ditch, a marsh, a place where water stagnates" Professor Hodivala's suggestion that "the word" " (recte " دور للى " " Būrīnii) is a conjectural or variant reading, which the copyist had found transcribed in the margin and inserted or transferred by error into the text" seems to be quite correct (S I-M H, 198-99) Ferishta substitutes the synonymous word " جمحه " (T F, 1, 50), which confirms the conclusion of the learned Professor According to Ferishta (Ibid), two and not ten sons shared Bahlim's fate He is followed by Sir W Haig (C H, I, 11, 35)

¹ T F, 1, 50, I K, II, XII, 300 (Tr's note)

[†] The Ghūrids fully availed themselves of the struggle between the Ghaznawids and the Saljūqs and husbanded their resources for asserting their own supremacy.

serious when a Sūrī Prince, Qutb-ud-Dīn Muhammad of Ghur, was put to death under the instructions of Bahram." To retaliate the murder of the deceased, his brother, Saif-ud-Din, attacked Ghaznin, defeated Bahram and drove him into India. After the conquest of Ghaznīn Saif-ud-Dīn sent his brother, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, to Ghūr and himself settled down in Ghaznīn along with his family. The sympathies of the people of Ghaznīn were, however, with Bahram and they kept him in close touch with the affairs at the Imperial Capital.† Availing himself of the sympathies of the people and of the state of affairs at Ghaznin, Bahram marched out from Kirman I at the head of an army, defeated Saifud-Din in a pitched battle and took him prisoner Saif-ud-Din was mounted on a lean old cow and paraded through the bazars of Ghaznīn and then tortured to death When 'Ala-ud-Din heard of the fate of his brother, he vowed to fall upon the Sultan of Ghaznin and advanced with the best of his forces. He defeated Bahram in three successive battles and put him to flight. When defeated and disappointed, Bahram fled towards

^{*} Annoyed with his brother, Qutb-ud-Din Muhammad of Ghür fled to Ghaznin and found refuge with Bahrām, who also married one of his daughters to him Later, he was suspected of treason and poisoned to death (T F, 1, 50)

[†] T F, 1, 50-51

[‡] This was a town situated between Ghaznin and India and should not be confused with its more famous namesake (T F, 1, 50)

India. There he raised a large force and again attacked Ghaznīn and occupied it. He, however, found his capital in quite a different condition, for after his victory 'Alā-ud-Dīn had given it to plunder for seven days, during which a number of its finest buildings ond 'exquisite memorials of the greatness and splendour of Mahmūd' were destroyed and most of its inhabitants killed * This act of 'Alā-ud-Dīn earned for him the title of Jahānsoz or 'World Burner'. Bahrām died sometime later. †

Progress of learning and education.

Progress of learning and education.

Progress of learning and education.

Hasan Ghaznawī and Shaikh Nizāmī flourished at his Court and enjoyed his patronage. The latter dedicated his book entitled Makhzan-i-Asrār to the Imperial patron. Numerous foreign works were also translated into Persian under his instructions. Among the most important translated versions may be men-

^{*} Even the tombs of the Ghaznawid princes, save those of Mahmūd, Mas'ūd I and Ibrāhīm were not spared The remains of the princes were torn from their graves and burnt (M I)

[†] There are several discrepancies about the date of Bahrām's death According to Ferishta (T F, 1, 52), he died in 1152 A C, ie before the burning of Ghaznin by 'Alā-ud-Dīn Jahānsoz If this account be accepted as correct, the pillage of Ghaznīn took place during the reign of Khusrau Shāh I have followed Minhāj-us-Sirāj (T N), which is a much earlier work

tioned the Kalila wa Danna, which was renamed Anwar-s-Suhadi, which is still so popular with the people of India and outside. The Sultan was also interested in the wide-spread diffusion of education. He opened a number of maltabs and madrasahs for the purpose, and as a natural result, education made mighty strides during his reign *

Khusrau Shah, the son and successor of Bahrām Shāh, was unfit to cope Khusrau successfully with the operous situa-Shah tion that confronted him at his accession When, after the conquest of Khurasan and the defeat of Sultan Sanjar, the Ghuzz Turkomans attacked Ghaznin, he took to flight and found shelter in India, where he died at Lähore in 1160 A C.‡ Of the extensive empire of Sultan Mahmud, the Punjab was all that remained in the hands of his descendants. Ghaznīn remained in possession of the Ghuzz Turkomans for ten years and then it passed into the hands of the princes of Ghur.

^{*} T. F , 1, 50.

[†] Sultan Saniar died in the hands of the Ghuzz Turkomāns in 1157 A C (C. H L. 111, 37)

I According to Ferishta, the pillage of Ghaznin took place during his reign (T F, 1, 52) In view of the fact that there is g great confusion about the regnal dates of the Ghaznawid princes, it is very difficult to locate events in correct serial order.

Khusrau Shah was succeeded by his son, Khusrau Malik, who ruled for about Khusrau 27 years, with his capital at Lahore. Malik He established his authority over all those places which formed part of the Indian Province under Sultan Ibrahim and Sultan Bahrām Snāh No longer content with the conquest of Ghaznīn, Shahāb-ud-Dīn Muhammad Ghūrī, brother of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-Dīn of Ghur, conquered Peshawar, Afghanisian, Multan and Sind and then contemplated the conquest of He repeatedly attacked India and compelled Khusrau Malik to sue for peace and to offer his son as a hostage till the fulfilment of the terms of the peace-treaty. Later, Khusrau Malık was taken prisoner by means of a ruse and killed in 1191 A C. With him ended the House of Ghaznin and then the sovereignty of Hindustan, in addition to that of Ghaznin and its dependencies, passed into the hands of the Ghurid Chiefs.

^{&#}x27; Briefly stated, the ruse, as described by Ferishta, is as follows -

Mūīz-ud-Dīn (Shahāb-ud-Dīn Muhammad of Ghūr) informed Khusrau that he wished to cultivate friendly relations with him, and as a proof of his sincerity, he sent back the prince kept as a hostage, to his father with a very splended escort Khusrau advanced a part of the way to meet his son, when all of a sudden he was surrounded by the Ghūrid forces at night. In the morning, when he woke up, he found himself a prisoner Thus Mūīz-ud-Dīn entered Lāhore in triumphant procession without shedding a drop of blood. (T F, 1, 52)

CHAPTER X

THE GHAZNAWID GOVERNMENT

The Ghaznawids sprang into power and introductory ruled over a vast empire for over two centuries During this period some of them, particularly Mahmüd, made an enduring impress on the history of their times in the preceding pages we have dealt with their military achievements and have also had occasional glimpses of their contributions to the arts of peace. Here it is proposed to deal with the administrative side of their rule, to refer to the progress of arts and sciences under their patronage and to sum up their achievements.

In the sphere of administration the Ghaznawids were guided by the precedents of the Khalifas of Baghdad and the Samand rulers of Bukhara, Far from theocracy, which was contemplated by the Qur-an and put into practice by the Prophet of Islam, the Muslim Government had become an absolute monarchy. The Sultan was a full-

^{*} It may be pointed out here that the state had drifted aftar from the high ideal set forth by the Qur-ām. It did, however, try to follow the laws of the Sharijat as long as they did not collide or come in conflict with those of its own. This was because most of the later Muslim kings were interested more in their own aggrandizement than in the glorification of Islam.

fledged autocrat with unlimited powers * He could nominate his own successor and do whatever he liked, subject, of course, to such limitations as were occasioned by fear of rebelhons and revolts.† He was Zullullah or "the Shadow of God" on Earth and hence the highest executive, legislative, judicial and military authority, responsible to no earthly power for his actions He exercised general supervision over the working of the administrative machinery. regulated foreign policy, dictated all important diplomatic correspondence and made all important appointments. He was the Commander-in-Chief of his army He led almost all his expeditions in person or directed them from his capital. In serious situations he convened a council of high officials of the State and consulted them, but he was not bound by their decision. The council was thus a mere deliberative or consultative body.1

The Ghaznawid Government undertook to protect the country from external invasions, to regulate foreign policy,

For the powers and privileges of a Muslim king, see T M, 108-10, T. Y, 5, and S. N, 110 See also S C A M R I, 8-11

[†] For the limitations of a Muslim king, see JRASB (1935). i. 128-29, and S. C. A. M. R. I., 11-15

⁺ T. M, 266, S N, 84. Nizāmī al-'Arūzi compares a king with a child and says that the first and foremost condition of service under him is to speak according to his wishes (C M.)

to maintain law and order, to suppress crime and to encourage public morality, to ensure the security of the life and property of the people, to administer justice and to enforce private contracts. In addition to these constituent functions, the Ghaznawid Government also performed such ministrant duties as fiving of coinage, maintenance and protection of roads and highways, construction of public works of utility, promotion of education, encouragement of arts and literature and administration of famme relief.*

Toleration is the sine give non of the success Toleration and stability of a State and no ruler, however mighty, can afford to do without it if he aspires to perpetuate his rule. The Ghaznawd rulers fully understood and appreciated this point and followed a policy of universal toleration within their dominions. We have had occasions to refer to the religious policy of Sultan Mahmüd and his successors and shown that it was characterized by toleration in the widest sense of the word. † The Zimmis (non Muslims) enjoyed full freedom of worship and liberty of conscience. The destruction of temples outside the Ghaznawid Empire was not the result of religious zeal or fanaticism but of dire political necessity and need for money—for financing militarry schemes successfully. If the Ghaznawid Sultan shad aimed at the spread of

^{*} Vide ifira.

[†] See subra, pp 103-4, 202-3.

Islam at the point of the sword, as alleged by the critics, they would not have tolerated the existence of idols and temples in their capital The employment of Hindus in highly responsible posts of the State without any restrictions of rank, race or religion amply brings out their broad-mindedness and testifies to their catholicity of mind They consistently followed the policy of toleration in their kingdom and we do not come across a single instance when a Zimmi was subjected to inequitable treatment on account of his religion. The Hindus formed an important part of the Ghaznawid armies and occupied such important posts as those of commanders. They also held high positions in the administrative system They were taken into confidence and entrusted with responsible tasks.†

In the absence of a well-defined and recog-

Absrnce of the Law of Succession nized law, governing the succession to the throne, rival claims often come in conflict and the history of the Ghaznay ids teems with pastances to

illustrate this rule. On his death Alptigin was succeeded by his son, Is-haq, who was driven out but restored by the Samanid overlord. On his death the adherents of Alptigin elected one of their chiefs, called Bilkatigin, as their king. Piritigin (Piri), who followed him, was deposed in favour of Subukugin, another chief, who was

^{**} Risālat-ul-Ghufrān, by Al-Ma'arrī, p 153.
† VI G, 163-64. C H I, m. 88-89. H I, 292-93.

P P 11 T 45-16

soon elected. SubuktigIn nominated his younger son. Ismail, as his successor, but the claims of the nominee were successfully challenged by his elder brother, Mahmud, not only on the score of seniority but also on the strength of the sword and the fitness to rule. Mahmud nominated his vounger son, Muhammad, as his successor, but 'he latter's claims were successfully contested by his elder brother, Mas'ud who asserted his own rights on four grounds * Mas'ud knew too well that neither his descent, nor the recognition of his title by the Khalifa, nor even the support of religious classes—three grounds on which he based his right to succession—would be of any use without 'the ability to command and rule' which constituted the fourth ground. On Mas'ad's death the succession became more confused and complicated Five of his sons ascended the throne with one break, that of Tughral, and the sword became the sole arbiter in the final settlement of claims But no outsider could ascend the throne as long as a member of Mahmud's family was found This is borne out by the case of Tuchral who usurped sovereignty from 'Abdur Rashid only on the ground of fitness to rule but lost it with in a month and a half, + Tughral was fully conscious of the prestige of Mahmud's family and he had therefore cleared his path by putting to death almost all the

^{*} See supra, p. 184 f n See also S. A M A, 7 ff, and M G, 24 ff, 169-70.

[†] See sutra, pp 223-24.

descendants of Mahmūd.* It was therefore easy for an able and ambitious man to make a bid for the throne, but none dared come out. After a thorough search, two or three princes of Mahmud's family were found alive and one of them was immediately enthroned Two important inferences can be drawn from the above discussion: Unfitness to command and rule was a positive disqualification and nothing could override the ability to rule till the time of Subuktigin. After Mahmud, however, descent became an allimportant claim which could not be over-ridden by any such qualifications as ability to rule or power of the sword. Mahmud's prestige was responsible for keeping the crown reserved for his descendants and the struggle for succession was strictly confined to their family-circle. It was not, however, settled as to which of the sons or brothers of the late king had the best claim. One who possessed the purse and commanded the confidence of the people had, of course, the best chances to succeed. A minor's chances were few and far between, and hence with one solitary exception no minor occupied the throne of Ghaznin t

The Ghaznawid system of administration was modelled on that of Baghdad and Bukhara 1 For purposes of effective control and efficient

^{*} See supra. p 223.

T See supra, p 221 See also S. A. M. A., 12-14

I Ghaznin was formerly a dependency of Bukhāril

administration the Ghaznawid Empire was divided into a number of provinces, each of which was placed in charge of a trusted officer. Every province was sub-divided into a number of smaller units corresponding to our districts. The Sultan was the highest authority, as already remarked, and he had under him a set of officers who held the portfolios of different departments of the State The principal departments were (1) Diwan-s-Wszarat, (2) Diwan-s-'Arz. (3) Diwan-s-Risalat, (4) Diwan-s-Sughl-s-of each of these departments and its functions is attempted in the following pages.

The Diwan-s-Wisarat or the Finance Department was under the direct control Die An-tof the Wasir who was the highest Wiedrat. official of the State, holding a place second only to the throne. The Wazir was expected to be a most experienced and qualified man, possessing a fertile brain, a facile pen and

Abu Bakr Muhammad bin Ja'far Narshakhi has given a list of some of these Diwans in his Tarikh-1-Bulhara, p 24. (Schefer's edition).

As such, it was governed as a part of the Samanid Empire according to the Samanid system of administration When Sultan Mahmud mounted the throne and threw off the Samanid yoke, he continued the same system of administration without introducing any appreciable changes. The same system was followed by his successors

ability to handle serious situations successfully He assisted the Sultan in the discharge of his duties and controlled the entire machinery of government. In the absence of the Sultan hacted as his deputy and supervised all the departments of the State. His was the court of first instance in matters relating to fiscal policy. He occupied a most uncertain position. He was a buffer between the Sultan and his subjects, exposed to the whims and caprices of the former and the hatted and jealousy of the latter. §

The Diwan-i-'Ars † or the Military De-Diwan-i-'Ars partment was in charge of an officer called 'Arss, who was next

^{*} C M . T V , 181, 297, M G , 132 ff , S A V A , 161 ff. Sultan Mahmud introduced the institution of Wisarat in the administrative system of Ghaznin and it gained immense power and presture under his successors. The election by the clite of the officials of a panel from which the Sultan was to select one as his Wasir was indeed a most useful contribution to the system of government that was then in vogue. The importance of the method of appointing Wagir, as introduced by Mahmud and followed by his successors, has not received the anpreciation it deserves. No Muslim or Hindu ruler of India, nor even the Great Mughals, ever thought of adopting such a wise course of action. On the other hand, they would have regarded it as an encroachment on their prerogatives It may be pointed out here that the Wazirs of the Gharawids were men of extraordinary ability, experience and education. They enjoyed wide powers and y ere freely entrusted with the work of government in their absence necessitated by military expeditions

T The 'Shughl-1-'Ars' is wrongly translated by Elhot as

only to the Wasir in point of importance The 'Aris was the adviser of the Sultan in military matters His principal peace-time duties were to maintain the army in a high state of efficiency and to look after the comfort and convenience of soldiers. He kept a regular muster-roll of all soldiers, showing losses due to illness, retirement or war * During the travels and tours of the Sultan he had to see that the royal camp was properly supplied with provisions, water, fodder, etc † In war times he acted as Quarter Master General of the army provided all possible facilities to soldiers at halting stations, and after victory he supervised the collection of booty which was distributed in the presence of the Sultan. He had an assistant called Nash-'Aris. who helped him in the discharge of his duties I

While we are still about the Divan-s-'Arx a reference may appropriately be made to the army of the Ghaznawids and the military organization under them. The army consisted of infantry, cavalry, the royal

^{&#}x27;the business of reporting matters' (E & D , 11, 73)

^{*} A copy of the muster-roll was kept in the office of the Diwān-i-Risālat for ready reference (T II, 332)

 $[\]dagger$ Traders frequently accompanied the armies and catered for the soldiers just as $Bany\bar{a}s$ do the Indian armies in these days '(See S N_n , 91)

[‡] T. M, 100, 329-30, 332, 532, 625, and M G, 137-38

body-guard and elephants In the absence of statistics it is not possible to give the exact strength of the Ghaznawd army. At one time it was fifty-four thousand strong "besides garrison" at the outposts of the Empire' Dr M.
Nazim has roughly estimated the number at 100 thousand. but in times of war it must have been swelled enormously by volunteers called Ghasis or 'holy warriors' and the contingents furnished by provincial governments. The Ghaznawid army was mainly recruited from Transoviana, but it also included Arabs, Afghans, Dailamites, Khurāsānids, Ghūrids and Indians, The presence of soldiers of various nationalities served as an effective safeguard against the possibility of a combination against the Sultan and also fostered a spirit of emulation among them.§ Highly organized in the times of Sultan Mahmud, the Ghaznawid army deterio-

The bods guard of the Sultān consisted principally of laness who were more dependable than all others because they depended wholly on the Sultān. They had their separate commanders and administrative officers. They were under the direct supervision of the Sultān. Their banner bore the distinctive device of a lion and spears. (T M, 329, 488)

T Almost all the elephants had been captured in Irdian vars or received in tribute from Indian Princes Their drivers were mostly Ilindia and their commander was called Migaddami-Pillännia Baihaqi mentions the price of an clenbant as 100,000 dirhams. (T. M. 29, 488, 70).

¹ M. G , 140 See also T. V , 846

[§] S N , 92 , and Qābūs Nāma, 176

rated a great deal and became demoralized

The Commander of the troops of Khurāsān was the highest military authority, Gradation of second to the Sultan. Every proarmy officers. vince had its own Sipah Salar or Commander of local troops and an 'Aris whose duties were similar to those of his prototype of the Central Government. Each Provincial Commander had under him a number of Hanbs. each commanding a Jassh or an army. Below the rank of Hajub was that of Sarhang, who was the commander of 500 horse. The officer next in rank to him was called Qaid who commanded a Khail, consisting of 100 horse. The lowest rank in the army was that of the Khailtash who was probably a commander of 10 horse.* All soldiers were expected to make their own commissariat arrangements. Each army was provided with a separate armoury and a magazine, and arms were supplied to soldiers inst before the battle †

The portfolio of the *Diwān-i-Risālat* or the Correspondence Department was held by an officer of high literary attainments, experience, ability and

† T. M, 6, 132, 145, 325, 328-30, 332, 421, 423, 616,

^{*} No contemporary chronicler has given a list of the grades enumerated above They have been taken from different accounts and are based on casual references (M G, 141)

tact " The duties of the Salib-t-Diwan-t tact The duties of the Santo-Dream-Risalal or the Head of the Correspondence Department were multifarious He wrote the letters of the Sultan to the Khalifa of Baghdad, to foreign powers, to provincial governors and other high officials of the State. Important dip-lomatic correspondence was dictated by the Sultan hunself and the Sahib s-Diwan-i-Risalat deciphered the reports received from the Muslirifs and the Sālub-s-Barīds and submitted them to the Sultan † He had under him a large staff the Sultan † He had under him a large, stafic of officers, called Dabirs who were paid liandsome salaries. Service was graded and vacancies were filled strictly on the basis of semiority and efficiency. The office hours were from about 9 a m. to about 3 p m. Tuesday and Friday were observed as holiciavs, when one clerk was put on duty to deal with important correspondence and expedite the dispatch of urgent letters. A clerk from this department always remained in attendance on the Sultan during the accuracy and tenule. during his journeys and travels. 1.

^{529, 808, 818,} K T. rs. 241, and M G . 241-42

^{*} He was expected to be a man of mature age and ripe experience \bull Fazi Daihaqi was regarded as too young to fill that post at the age of 45 (T. M. 753)

i "Before proceeding to his post, every important officer was supplied with a code of language by the Sil -b i-Dia.li -Ri-lilar or the Head of the Correspondence Department " (T 'U, 541, 821)

^{*} T V . 165, 181, 191, 297, 581

The Diwan-i-Shughl-i-Ishraf-i-Mamlukat*
or the Secret Intelligence Depart-

—, Shughl-1-Ishrāf-1-Mamlukat

ment was in charge of a separate officer who had under him a number of officers called Muslivis, who were

posted in different parts of the Empire and whose duty was to watch the movements of Government officials all over the Empire and to submit secret information about their doings to the Salisb-s-Shinghl-s-likeraj-s-Manilukat or the Head of the Correspondence Department The most trusted and confidential servants and slaves of important officers and princes were employed by this department to spy the acts and actions of their masters.† The Mushrifan-s-Dargah or the Mushrifa attached to the Court of the Sultan watched the movements of ministers, courtiers

^{*} The translation of the term 'Shugh-1-shuh-

[†] According to Baihaqi, the spies of Sultan Mahmud were so expert that they counted the very breaths of the Khans of Turkistan (T M., 846).

and princes and kept the Herd of the Department informed of their activities. Princes had their out in personnel to confidential servants of the Sulfan and they kept them in close contact with the Court of their father. Thus it was that they outwitted their father in many cases. The importance of the officers of this department cannot be exaggerated. They could make and mar circers by submitting favorable and adversing the submitted favorable and the submitted favorable and the submitted favorable and the submitted favorable favor

The Sahub-Divan--Wilalat was what may be called in modern termino
Wikalat logy the Comptroller of the Household. The contemporary chroniclers
throw very little light on this department and
its officers. This is obviously because the nature
of the duties of the Sahub--Divan--Wikalat
and his subordinates did not bring them in contact
with the King, the Court and the Courtiers. The
Head of the Department was sometimes called
Wali! His principal duties were to supervise
the Royal Kitchen, the Royal Stables and the

^{^ \}ccording to Niz \text{im-ul-Mulk}, the principal qualifications of Mushrif were honesty and sound judgment $(S,\lambda_1,57)$

TT V, 135-38, 164-65, 331, 493, 522, 609, 812, S A, 57, 68, and V G, 144-45

personnel attached to the Royal Palace He was in charge of the personal treasury of the Sultan and it was also his duty to distribute rations and to disburse pay among the personal servants of the Sultan.*

The Diwan-1-Mazalimt was what may now be called a Tribunal of Justice. The - Macalum. Sultan himself was a fountain of justice and his was the highest court of appeal. He held his court daily and dealt out justice and redressed the wrongs done to the oppressed ! He delegated his powers to Pro-

^{*} It was essential for the Head of this department to possess unimpeachable character and integrity

[†] This department was so called because it dealt with the subject of all or oppression and sought to redress the wrongs done to the oppressed

TReferring to the court of justice held by Sultan Mas'ud, Baihaqi says: "أبير طالم كردورور سطت براك درد" (The Amir dealt with oppression, , c held a court of metice, and heard the complaints of the oppressed persons, and it was a most eventful day) In E & D the extract is translated as "The Amir was very severe and the day nassed in great pomp and splendour." ($E \in D$, ii, 73). Dowson has translated the extract without reference to the text and hence made a mess of the whole thing In the preceding page Baihaqi has said that the Wasir lias ordered all عطلمان (oppressed persons or complainants) to be called (T. M., 181) also referred to as a court of justice Gardizi says that soon after his accession Mas'ud sat in (held) a court of justice (يوطال دشت), heard their complaints and dealt out justice (Z A., 95). Speaking of Sultan Ibrahim of Ghaznin also, he uses

vincial Governors who appointed Qāzīs (judges or magistrates) to assist them in their work by their knowledge of the Shariyat. Each town had a Qāsī and each province a Qasi-ul-Quzzāt or Qazi-in-Chief, corresponding to a modern Chief Justice of a High Court The Qazis were paid handsome salaries and they were not removed from service except for misconduct They were recruited mainly from the class of the Ulamā (theologians) having a thorough knowledge of Muslim law and practice. The procedure of their courts was very simple. They themselves were the judges of fact as well as of law. After taking the evidence of the parties and of their respective witnesses, they formulated their judgment and pronounced it after considering the pros and cons of the case. † The sentences passed by them were executed by local governors and disobedience to their summonses was severely

similar words - سعى منظلمان شنيد و داد دداد (listened to the complaints of the oppressed and dispensed justice *Ibid*, 468) Minhāj-us-Sirāj uses the word "مطام" for "redress of grievances" (T N, 275), and Dīwān-t-Mazālim for Court of Justice (Ibid, 3).

Justice was administered on almost similar lines all over the Muslim world. The Khalifa (successor of the Prophet) was the fountain of justice and he was supposed to have delegated judicial powers to rulers of different states.

[†] In addition to their duties as judges, the Qāzīs also acted as trustees of the property of orphans and of those who went abroad on travels etc (S. N., 77-78)

punished * The system of administering justice was quite sound and simple, being based on the laws of the Shariyat On the whole, it worked well and was free from such formalities as a litigant in modern times has to observe, Punishments meted out to offenders were severe, but they acted as effective deterrents and were quite suited to those stormy times.

The Divan-1-Muhtasib was concerned with
the morals and manners of the
Muhtasib.
people. The religious beliefs of
Muslim subjects of the Sulian were
also ascertained by this department and those
found guilty of 'heresy' and moral delinquency
were punished The adherents of the 'Batini'
and 'Carmathian' creeds were rigorously persecuted everywhere in the Empire during the
reign of Sultan Mahmud- "they were captured,
imprisoned and, if they did not recant, were
sometime brutally murdered and burnt" and
their literature was ruthlessly destroyed.†

The Diwan-1-Auqaf was in charge of a separate officer who super vised social activities of the people and managed religious endowments and such institutions as maklabs and madrasahs, mosques and monasteries. I

^{*} S N., 38, 40, 54, 65, 77, T M, 40, 181, 246

[†] T. M , 664, K. T , IX, 264, M G , 160

I T. M., 308

The Diwan-i-Mumlikat-i-Khās was another department of the State. As to —Mumlikat-i- the rôle of this department and Khās the duties of its head, the contemporary accounts afford little clue. From the designation of the officer in charge of this department (Sāhib-i-Dīwān-i-Mumlikat-i-Khās) it appears that he was entrusted with the management of Crown-lands or royal domain, corresponding to the Dīwān-i-Khālisa of the Mughal Period.

Every province had its own Sāhib-i-Barīd†

Sāhib-i-Barīd or Post Master General. He was the official news-writer and it was his duty to keep the Sultān informed of all that took place in the province where he was posted He submitted reports in a cipher previously arranged with the Sāhib-i-Dīwān-i-Risālat. Reports were conveyed through the agency of Askudārs or mounted couriers. Important communications were sent through special messengers. The system worked well, but at times it was set at naught by the refractory governors who prevailed upon the Sāhib-i-Barīds either by

⁴ See S A M A, 211-12

[†] At first the word 'Barīd' was used for the post-mule, then for the courier who rode the post-mule and finally for the distance between two postal stations. The word is perhaps derived from the Persian word وريد or 'cut' which was applied to the mules that had their tails cut or docked. (See S I M H, 153)

bribes or by force to send favourable reports about them to the Central Government Often the couriers were waylad, searched and dispossessed of the implicating papers. The Salubi-Barid therefore sent his couriers in the guise of merchants, mendicants and travellers, who carried official papers in the handles of implements kept hollow for the purpose or in the soles of their shoes, etc.*

There was yet another officer called Khazan (treasurer) He was in charge of the Government Treasury He is only rarely referred to in the contemporary chronicles, where too he does not find place among the high officials of the State It may therefore be inferred that he did not enjoy a very high status or rank †

The Provincial Government was based on the model of the Central Government and had three distinct branches of administration, viz. civil, judicial and The highest civil officer in a province was called Schibt-Piotata. He was entrusted

was called Sahib--Divan. He was entrusted with the collection of the revenue due to the State and was directly responsible to the Wasir. He had under him a staff of subordinate officers such as 'Amils who collected the revenue from

^{*} T. M, 27, 139, 165-66, 425, 493-94, 522-23, 541, 627, 821, S. N. 57-58, 65, 68.

[†] S. A. M. A . 212.

the sub-division in their charge.* The chief military officer was the Sipāh Sālār or the commander of the provincial army The Sālub-i-Dīwān and the Sipāh Sālār worked independently of each other, but in some cases when it was considered desirable they worked together and co-operated with each other. The highest judicial officer of a province was the Qāzī-ul-Quzzāt, who, in addition to his duties as a judge, supervised the judiciary of the province where he was stationed, and saw that the Qāzīs under him discharged their duties honestly and efficiently.†

that confronts us now. Unfortunation of cities is scanty and that too lies scattered over numerous accounts. Every town had a fort to protect it from an external attack. The commander of the fort was called Kotwāl. He was the highest military officer of the locality. The principal civil officer of a town was Mulitasib‡ who had a number of duties to perform He had to see that law was respected and peace was not disturbed, that food-stuffs were not adulterated and weights and measures were not tampered with, that trade was

The revenue system has been dealt with separately Vide infra, pp 260 ff

[†] S N, 18, 77-78, 149-50, T M, 246, 327, 352, 447, 488, 496, 559

This other designation was Shihna (M. G., 150).

protected and artisans were not molested, and that the Niushim code of morality was faithfully followed by the Muslim population. Offenders were arrested and sent to the Aniir-Haras (Chief Jailor) who kept them in the lock up till they were summoned to stand their trial in the court of the Qasi Each town had a paid Khatib who acted as Pesk-Imam* and read the Khatiba in the name of the Sultan. Municipal administration, as we understand it, was not known, but there is ample evidence on record to show that the notables of towns were consulted in all matters of importance relating to towns. The religious and educational endowments were administered by a separate office called Ishraf-Augaf and the Salib-Ishraf-Augaf looked to the collection of the income derived from and the expenditure entailed by the endowments †

Government service was not the monopoly of any class. It was open to all who possessed the requisite qualifications. A man who entered service as an ordinary clerk could rise to the rank of Wazīr in course of time if he possessed the required qualifications for that post.‡ Every

^{*} One who leads the congregational prayers among Musalmans is called *Imām or Pesh-Imām*.

[†] T M, 4, 5, 8, 19, 189, 197, 271, 288, 308, 664, 538, S. N, 41, 121, T Y, 332

[‡] T M, 166 The administrative machinery was mainly in the hands of the Persians. Most of the Wazirs

important appointment in the State was a matter of contract. Before taking charge of his office every high official had to enter into a Mawaza' or covenant or contract with his royal master. The terms and conditions of the covenant differed with different posts in proportion to their importance. An 'Ariz was, for instance, required to leave his son as a hostage before he was invested with the insignia of his office and sent out'

The Indian territories conquered by the early Ghaznawid princes, were How India was formed into a separate province, administered. which was administered by two officials—Sipāh Sālār and Qāzī. In the days of Mahmūd, the Sipāh Sālār was 'Abdullah Qaratigīn who resided at Lähore. 'Abdullah was a mild man and the administrative machinery was therefore controlled by the Qazi. But his successor, Ariyārāq, was a strong man who could not brook the interference of the Qāzī in his affairs and would not like to play the second fiddle. The clash between the two was, therefore, inevitable. The Oāzī Shīrāzī, 'Abdul Hasan Alī, who knew the Sipāh Sālār too well, moved the Government of Ghaznīn and secured the appointment of two more officials, viz, an 'Amil and a Mushrif. When

and departmental heads of the Ghaznawid Government were Persians. This is because they were superior to all others in diligence and obsequousness. (M. G, 131).

^{*} T M, 177-78, 326, 416, 453, 504

even the appointment of these two officials did not exercise any check on the powers of Ariyaraq, the Qazi mobilized the forces of intrigue against him and brought about his fall He was successful in his object because the Sultan (Mas'ud) was trying to get rid of the old and arrogant officials of his father's time * When Nijaltigin was appointed Sipah Salar of India, the Wasir of Mas'ud instructed him not to meddle with financial affairs but to leave them to the Qazi. Thus, while the entire financial administration was placed in the hands of the Qazi, the Salar could not but force the Thakurs to pay tribute, to wage wars and to administer military affairs The idea was the separation of civil from military affairs. The 'Amil and the Mushrif assisted the Qazi, The clash between the Oazi and the Salar as well as the rebellion of the latter were responsible for the changes introduced by Mas'nd. He appointed his own son, Majdud, as Amisri-Hind (Governor of India) and put a Dabir and a Mastauji (accountant) at his disposal for help,† The Mastaufi was expected to control the in-come and expenditure. At the time of Mas'nd there were the following officers at Lahore, a

^{*} T M . 327-28 . S. A. M. A . 213.

[†] The original idea of keeping the military department strictly separate from the civil must have been much modified by the appointment of Prince Majdad who represented his father, the Sulfan, and was thus the head of the Indian Government.

Sipāli-Sālār, who was a prince of the royal family, a Mastaufi, a Muslirif and a Dabīr. There might have been a treasurer as well, though we do not find any mention about him in the contemporary records. This was then the nucleus round which the Wisārat Department developed in India. Further changes in the administration of India must have been introduced when the Ghaznawids transferred their seat of government from Ghaznīn to Lāhore.

The Finance Department of the Central Government has been referred to Revenue above † The appointment as well System as the dismissal of such local financial officers as the Sāhib-i-Dīwān or provincial revenue minister, Mastaufi-i-Mumālik (Accountant General) the 'Amil (or Collector) and the Rais, I rested with the Central Government concentrated in the Sultan. The Central Revenue Department maintained a regular record of accounts of the Māl-1-Kharāj (revenue) sent to it from different provinces. The principles according to which the revenue of various places was assessed are not known, but it will not be far from the truth to say that the Ghaznawid Government relied on the records, whatever they were, of the rulers whom they supplanted. The contemporary

[~] T. M., 327-28, 622, 666-67, S. A. M. A., 213-14

[†] See supra, pp 243-44

[‡] He was perhaps a local revenue officer (supervisor?)
of a district or town

works do not afford any clue to the actual measurement of land. The assessments recorded in the Central Financial Department furnished the basis of the demand of the Wasir for revenue from provincial and district revenue officers The revenue due to the State was the first charge on the property of every person concerned with its collection. It was paid both in cash and kind It was also paid in amber, pearls, cloth, utensils, etc The Wasir, who was at the helm of all administrative affairs, was particularly keen on the realization of the amount of revenue recorded in his office as due from a place or a provincial officer * There is no doubt that most of the defaulters were really incapable and dishonest and the Wasir's strictness was not misplaced, but it is quite reasonable to suppose that there must have been cases when the revenue due to the State could not be paid and thus even a good governor also ran the risk of suffering for no fault of his.† The revenue was realized with

[&]quot;In a gastadu in praise of Hasanak, Farrukhi says, "Tomorrow when he (the Wastr) demands an account from the Sultán's 'Amils their extortions will become mainlest. The money which they have embezzied he will recover from them to the last dang, and will send them to prison " (Quoted in M G, 133, f n 4) The defaulting officers were severely punished and nothing was spared to recover the State dues from them But for this twould not have been possible to imspire awe and fear among the dishonest officers of distant provinces in those times. This is the only ustification for the use of force

[†] T. M.; 44-49; S. A. M. A., 241-42.

great vigour, but neither the Sultan nor his Wazir was slack to show leniency when he was convinced of the defaulter's inability to pay. There are also instances of successful protests and representations to the Central Government against unjust and unreasonable demands missions were not grudged when there were good grounds for granting them. Whenever there was a drought or whenever a province suffered from the attack of an enemy, land revenue was remitted and loans were advanced to cultivators in order to enable them to purchase seeds, cattle and implements.

Other sources of revenue were such taxes as Kharāj, Jizīa and Zakāt, levied Taxes and according to the laws of the Shariother sources yat, tributes from dependencies and of revenue presents from subordinate Princes, the produce of gold and silver from mines and the duties of the great volume of trade that passed between China, Turkistan and India and Khurasan, Iraq and Syria, supplemented by the spoils of wars, enormously enriched the State Treasury. † There are repeated references to Kharāj‡ in the contemporary accounts, which shows that it was a most important source of State income. Jizia § was imposed on the

 $^{^{\}smallfrown}$ T $\,$ M , 144-46, 663 , T. Y , 247, 271, 321 , S $\,$ N $\,$ 18, 206 , C $\,$ M

[†] S N, 20, M. G, 133-34 ‡ See S A M A, 242

[§] For a discussion on Jizia, see S C A M R I

Zummis in heu of military service and for the protection of their person and property; and a record of the income received from this source was kept in the Revenue Office Zakht* does not figure so prominently in the contemporary chronicles, but it must have been levied in some form or the other. It was 2½ ½ tax on property The revenue due from each province was sent to the Head Quarters by the officer concerned, and in cases of delay and default a Rasni (agent) was sent by the Central Government with instructions to expedite remittance. At times the Wasis himself went to the defaulting province to see into its revenue affairs and to set them right. All amounts were sent to the Treasury, where the Khasan (treasurer) examined the Nuskha-Hujjat (demands) and gave a Khat (receipt) on receiving the amount.

The State also undertook to mitigate the horrors of famines whenever they Famine Rehief broke out It sympathized with the famine-stricken and the impoverished and did all that it could to relieve them of their sufferings. Once, when a terrible famine broke out in Khurtastin, Sultan Mahmidi issued orders to all Provincial Governors to send as much corn to the famine-stricken area as possible Accordingly, huge quantities of food-stuffs began to pour into Khurasan from all over the

^{*} S N . 20: N G . 133

[†] T. M. 170, 314; S. A. M. A., 240 ff.

Ghaznawid Empire. With all the solicitude of the State for the comfort and convenience of the people, it must be remembered that modern means and methods of fighting famines were unknown in those times and the crude and unscientific means of communication and transportation must have formed a great obstacle in the proper administration of famine relief.

With rare exceptions, the Ghaznawid Sultāns were deeply interested in the progress of learning and literature, architecture and other fine arts. The University of Ghaznin, with a vast library and a museum attached to it, was literally a light-house of learning, shedding its light far and wide and illuminating the East in general and Afghānistān in particular.† The Arūs-2-Falak or 'the Celestial Bride', the loveliest house of prayer which had received the honorific appellation of 'the wonder of the east' in those days, was the finest gem of Islāmic architecture the in existence. Both these and many other ma ficent monuments that adorned Ghaznīn things of beauty, which if spared and prese would have been a joy for ever.

T. Y., 247 (Tehrān edition, p 331), S. A. M

[†] The Ghaznawids systematically encouraged tion by opening schools and colleges and extending patronage to learned persons at a time when no gover the West had yet evolved a regular system of e (See E M 1).

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